

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

How 1943 British firebombing of Hamburg incinerated 45,000

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MAY 30, 2005

Washington, Tokyo threaten sanctions against north Korea

BY PAUL PEDERSON

U.S. and Japanese government officials stated in mid-May that the two imperialist powers would seek retaliatory sanctions or other punitive measures against north Korea if the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) carried out a test of a nuclear weapon.

When asked on CNN television's "Late Edition" May 15 what Washington would do in the event of a test, White House National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley said, "The North Koreans would be defying not only us, but our partners in the six-party talks, and action would have to be—have to be taken."

Speaking earlier that day on "Fox News Sunday," Hadley said, "If there is a nuclear test...at that point we will have to have a serious conversation about other steps we can take." He pointed out that Tokyo is "already saying that those steps need to include going to the Security Council and potentially sanctions."

Hadley was referring to a statement made by Shinzo Abe, the secretary general of Japan's governing Liberal Democratic Party, earlier that day. "If North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons becomes definite and [the DPRK] conducts nuclear testing, for instance, Japan will naturally bring the issue to the UN and call for sanctions against North Korea," Abe told Asahi TV. Dangling both the carrot and the stick, Abe added, "We try to bring North Korea



U.S. Department of Defense/John Pistone

U.S. troops simulate attack on north Korean forces March 20 during annual exercises with Seoul's military in south Korea. Pyongyang says it is developing nuclear arms for defense against 40,000 U.S. troops in Korea and U.S. and Japanese belligerence.

back to the dialogue, and when they return to the table we might even have to consider a reward."

In an earlier interview with the *New York Times*, Abe reportedly said Tokyo could cut off cash remittances from Koreans living in Japan to their families back home as part of

these measures. Starting in August 2003, the U.S. government has insisted on negotiating with the DPRK only as part of "six-party talks" along with the governments of Japan, south Korea, Russia, and China. This is part of Washington's moves to isolate Pyongyang

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Iraqi regime under pressure to include more Sunnis in government

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—Armed groups opposing the U.S.-backed regime in Iraq have focused bombings on Iraqi troops, police, and civilians in recent weeks. The attacks are aimed at pressuring the Iraqi government to include more Sunnis in the administration and the writing of the country's new constitution.

U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice visited Iraq May 15. In press interviews Rice said she had discussed with Iraqi government officials the importance of including Sunnis in drafting the country's constitution. She also accused the government of Syria of "standing in the way of the Iraqi people's desire for peace," charging that Damascus allows former leaders of the Baath Party regime of Saddam Hussein to use Syria's border areas to stage attacks inside Iraq on U.S. troops and Iraqi security forces.

Rice arrived in Baghdad as the U.S. military announced the end of Operation Matador, aimed at armed groups loyal to

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Socialist workers, youth build SWP convention

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

"We've just finished studying 'Their Transformation and Ours' and we're already on 'Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun,'" said Michael Ortega. "I'm looking forward to the convention." He was referring to the upcoming convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which will take place June 9–11 at the Oberlin College campus in Oberlin, Ohio.

Ortega, 19, is a student at Essex Community College and is working as a cutter in a garment shop over the summer. He and two other Young Socialists in Newark, New Jersey—Chauncey Robinson and Tom Baumann—have been participating in a weekly class series on the two most recent issues of the Marxist magazine *New International*. The classes are being organized by SWP branches across the United States.

"Their Transformation and Ours," which has been published in issue no. 12 of *New International*, is the main political resolution to be discussed and voted on by the delegates to the 43rd constitutional convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The lead article in that issue is "Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun," a report presented by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes that was adopted by the party's 2002 convention. The classes, open to those interested in learning more about the socialist movement, have been an important part of the preparations for the convention.

"The classes are giving me a more concrete understanding of what's causing the shakiness of the economy," Ortega told the *Militant*. He said that after a recent meeting of youth planning to attend the world

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Utility workers strike in Boston over safety, jobs

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON—"They want us to sell down the river the retirees and the young people coming up," explained Robert Blake, a communications technician at NStar for 15 years. Blake was walking the picket line May 16 outside the offices of the electric and gas company, which services 1.4 million customers in eastern Massachusetts. That day 2,000 members of Utility Workers Union of America (UWUA) Local 369 went on strike against the utility.

"I think it will be a long strike," said Claudia Stewart, 44, a field service representative and a veteran of the last strike against NStar in 1986. "The company wanted a strike and walked away from negotiations. We don't want to give in on our safety concerns, staffing levels, or benefits for retirees."

The company's response to the strike has been to say the workers are highly paid—claiming the average NStar lineman earns \$97,000 a year including overtime—and the union leadership is "out of touch" for

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"One of capitalism's infrequent long winters has begun. Accompanied by imperialism's accelerating drive toward war, it's going to be a long, hot winter."
—Jack Barnes

Today's sharpening interimperialist conflicts are fueled both by the opening stages of a world depression—what will be decades of economic, financial, and social convulsions and class battles—and by the most far-reaching shift in Washington's military policy and organization since the late 1930s, when the U.S. rulers prepared to join the expanding Asian and European wars, transforming them into World War II.

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CIA-trained anti-Cuba mass murderer arrested in U.S.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Agents of the U.S. Homeland Security Department arrested CIA-trained bomber Luis Posada Carriles in Miami May 17, two months after he snuck into the United States where he had filed a petition for asylum.

The government of Venezuela headed by President Hugo Chávez has requested Posada's extradition. Posada Carriles, 77, a Venezuelan citizen, would face trial if sent to his country of origin for his role in the 1976 mid-air bombing of a Cuban airliner over Barbados that killed all 73 people aboard.

The Homeland Security Department issued a statement after the arrest saying the Immigration and Customs Enforce-

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Lynne Stewart fights ‘terrorism’ conviction

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

NEW YORK—Lynne Stewart, the first defense attorney to be convicted on “terrorism” charges by the U.S. government, is conducting a fight to pressure the judge in the case to hand down a minimum sentence. “This conviction is intended to intimidate other lawyers from defending those critical of the U.S. government,” she said in a May 2 interview with the *Militant* in her downtown New York office, “or to hold back in how aggressively they defend their clients.” She has spoken out about her case at events around New York, and successfully challenged a bar on her exclusion from speaking outside the state.

In addition to striking a blow against the right of the accused to a full legal defense, Washington also took advantage of the “terrorism” charges in the case to take swipes at freedom of the press and academic freedom by issuing subpoenas to reporters who interviewed Stewart and using academic research materials as “evidence.”

Stewart, 65, was convicted February 10 on all five charges against her of “conspiracy to provide material support to terrorist activity” and “defrauding” the government after a seven-month trial in federal court here. U.S. District Judge John Koeltl has set September 23 for sentencing. Stewart said she faces up to 30 years in prison, and that although her case is unprecedented, guidelines in such cases suggested an 18-year sentence. Upon her conviction, she was immediately disbarred.

“We are appealing to people across the country to write letters to the judge, calling on him to use the ‘discretion’ allowed him to order probation or community service rather than a prison term,” said Stewart. She pointed to the January 2005 Supreme Court rulings in *Booker* and *FanFan* that struck down mandatory sentencing, and suggested supporters note her 30 years of service to the community, and her age and health, in their letters to the judge.

The letter-writing campaign to Judge Koeltl, calling on him to sentence Stewart to no time in prison, is aimed at weakening the impact of the guilty verdict. “In this way the judge would send a message: this is not the kind of case for punishment. I am not a ‘danger’ and should not be sentenced to jail time,” she said.

Following the conviction the judge restricted Stewart’s travel to three districts in New York State, she said. Invitations soon began to come to speak across the



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Attorney Lynne Stewart speaking at March 11 New York Militant Labor Forum against her conviction of “conspiracy to provide material support to terrorist activity.”

country and Stewart requested permission to leave the state to speak on her case. Over the government’s objections, she said, the judge approved her travel to San Francisco and Boston in order to accept invitations there. She plans to seek approval for further travel to continue her fight.

Stewart spoke at 16 engagements in five days while in the San Francisco Bay Area in late April. The events were organized by campus and peace groups, and community and political organizations. She said highlights of the trip to the Bay Area included an April 23 program attended by 400 on the occasion of the birthday of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black rights activist and journalist who was framed up in 1981 on charges of murdering a Philadelphia cop and remains behind bars in Pennsylvania. Abu-Jamal then interviewed Stewart for his radio program. She is scheduled to speak in the Boston area May 20–21.

‘Conspiracy’ charges

The prosecutors’ case against Stewart focused on her activities as an attorney in defense of Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who she represented from 1994 to 2002. Abdel-Rahman, a Muslim cleric, was convicted on frame-up charges of conspiracy to bomb the World Trade Center in 1993 and attack other city landmarks. In 1996 he was sentenced to life in prison plus 65 years.

“The charges against me center on two separate ‘conspiracies’ that are rooted in Department of Justice Special Administra-

tive Measures (SAMs),” said Stewart. “I was not found guilty of breaking any law, but of violating these regulations.” Washington imposed SAMs on Abdel-Rahman that include restrictions on his access to mail, telephones, and visitors, and a prohibition on his speaking to the media.

At the heart of the government’s case is the fact that Stewart released a statement to the press from Abdel-Rahman in June 2000 in which she stated his decision to withdraw support for a cease-fire between the Egyptian government and the organization he led, the Islamic Group. “This was not an ‘instruction from the commander-in-chief’” to carry out any action, she said, and in fact the government never claimed that any act of “terrorism” occurred as a result of the press conference.

“The first charge is conspiracy to ‘defraud’ the government. The prosecutors claimed that when I signed on to the SAMs I did so with the intention of violating them,” said Stewart. “The second charge was that I ‘conspired’ with my co-defendants to ‘conspire’ to provide material aid to ‘terrorism.’” The judge rejected her defense attorneys’ objection that there is no such crime as “conspiring to conspire.”

She noted that by charging her with plotting conspiracies, the government neither had to prove that she had actually carried out a specific “terrorist” act, nor aided someone else in doing so.

Much of the “evidence” against Stewart was based on government wiretaps of more than two years of conversations between her and Abdel-Rahman, her client, and videotapes of their meetings in prison. Since October 2001 the Justice Department has had the authority to conduct surveillance of prisoners with their attorneys without judicial oversight. At a pretrial hearing, a prosecutor acknowledged that “intercepted calls are the backbone of the government’s case.” The Justice Department had obtained a secret warrant through the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to snoop on her prison visits with Abdel-Rahman.

Attack on academic, press freedom

The jury also found Stewart’s co-defendants guilty on all counts. Mohammed Yousry, an Arabic translator, faces up to

20 years in prison for “providing material support to terrorists.” Abdel-Sattar, a paralegal for Abdel-Rahman, was convicted of “conspiracy” to “kill and kidnap persons in a foreign country.”

In its prosecution of Yousry, the government relied heavily on the fact that he had been writing a dissertation on Abdel-Rahman at New York University (NYU), said Stewart. Yousry’s colleagues in the Middle East Studies department stood by him in this attack on academic freedom. His dissertation chief testified at the trial as to why a researcher on the subject would have large numbers of documents on Abdel-Rahman, said Stewart, and after the trial six professors in his department wrote a letter to the *New York Times* protesting the government’s introduction of research materials as evidence of “terrorism.” The *Times* refused to publish the letter.

In the course of the attack on Stewart, the prosecutors also tried to strike a blow at freedom of the press. When the trial began in June 2004 the government issued subpoenas to four reporters to testify in order to use their coverage of Stewart’s activities as an attorney against her. All four challenged the validity of the government move.

At the pretrial hearing prosecutor Anthony Barkow claimed the reporters’ interviews with Stewart would prove that her stated support for revolutionary movements laid the basis for her “providing material support for terrorism.”

Newspaper articles alone cannot be used as evidence because they are regarded as hearsay. The government was trying to force the reporters to affirm the quotations in their articles in order to establish that Stewart’s supports “violence” and “terrorism.”

At the time the judge left the subpoenas in place, and reserved the right to rule on their validity until later in the trial. The trial ended without a ruling on this matter by the judge.

The government’s violence-baiting of Stewart was key to its case. In response to this charge, she said her views were “more in line with Nelson Mandela than with Gandhi. In wars of national liberation or for self-determination, where the powers-that-be are using violence, violence in self-defense is legitimate.” She said her views on this question were irrelevant, however, as “they don’t have anything to do with the way I practice law,” but at trial the judge ruled this admissible because it went to her “state of mind.”

Stewart said the government attack on her rights as an attorney is similar to the restrictions Washington has put on lawyers for those it holds as “enemy combatants” in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. “Their lawyers are required to sign on to restrictions to what they can say and must pass a security clearance,” she said, and may not reveal the names of their clients or the conditions under which they are imprisoned.

Letters to Judge John Koeltl should be sent to Stewart’s attorney, Jill R. Shellow-Lavine, at 2537 Post Road, Southport, CT 06890. She will then deliver them to the judge. For more information, contact the defense committee’s web site at www.lynnestewart.org.

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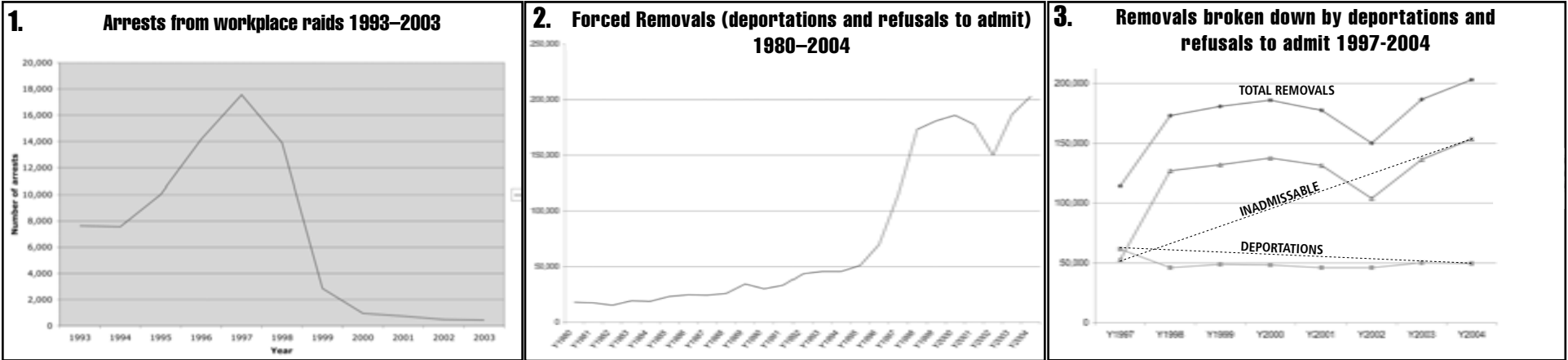
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Deportations, factory raids decline in U.S.



Arrests of immigrant workers from factory raids have declined from 17,550 in 1997 to 445 in 2003 (chart 1). While the numbers of those refused entry before getting into the United States spiked after passage of 1996 Immigration Act, deportations have slightly declined between 1997 and last year (charts 2 and 3).

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Washington has eased arrests and deportations of immigrant workers living and working inside the United States over the past eight years, according to statistics of the Department of Homeland Security. The government figures show a decline in factory raids, deportations, and arrests of immigrant workers in the United States compared to the mid-1990s.

At the same time, the U.S. government has tightened its border control. The turning point here was not the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon but the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act adopted with bipartisan support by Congress and signed into law by William Clinton.

Deportations have declined slightly because the capitalist rulers increasingly need immigrant labor and are stepping up their efforts to integrate workers from the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the world over into the exploitable workforce in the United States. This gives the U.S. rulers an edge over their imperialist competitors. Any effort at wholesale expulsions of undocumented immigrants, or even a substantial curtailing of their flow into the United States, would have adverse economic consequences for the capitalist economy.

Over the past quarter of a century the foreign-born population of the United States has increased from 6 percent to 12 percent, or some 36 million people today. The fate of these workers and those born in the United States are increasingly intertwined in battles

against the bosses’ offensive on wages and working conditions.

While the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has carried out some well-publicized raids and arrests of immigrant workers at workplaces they dub “risk-sensitive” for terrorist attack, there has been a decline since the mid-1990s of factory raids, workplace sting operations, and round-ups of undocumented workers on the job.

In 2003, a total of 445 workers were arrested in what the immigration police call “work site enforcement”—factory and other workplace raids. This represents a 97 percent decline since 1997, when more than 17,000 workers were rounded up in such

raids. The spike of factory raids in the mid-1990s coincided with the passage of the 1996 Immigration Act.

Deportations and arrests of workers caught inside the borders have declined since the mid-1990s as well. In 1997, *la migrá* deported more than 61,000 people from the United States. That figure dropped to about 49,500 last year. In 2003, the total of “deportable aliens located,” that is picked up by immigration agents, had hit its lowest point since 1989.

At the same time, regulations for entering the country have been tightened and enforced more strictly at airports, border outposts, and other ports of entry over the

last decade. The number of people ruled “inadmissible” at ports of entry has increased substantially—from 52,745 in 1997 to 153,622 last year.

Washington is trying to control its borders without cutting off the inflow of immigrant labor. Politicians in both parties are discussing measures intended to introduce some regulation and a measure of legality to the millions of undocumented immigrant workers that make up a growing share of the U.S. working class. The “guest worker” program pushed by the Bush administration, and a bill that was recently introduced in the Senate aimed at granting work visas to seasonal farm workers, illustrate this trend.

Pentagon to close 180 military installations

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In a much anticipated announcement, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld presented the Pentagon’s plan May 13 to close 180 military installations in the United States, including 33 major bases. The closures, which are the first since 1995, are another step in the efforts by the U.S. military to carry through the biggest transformation of its forces since 1939.

“Current arrangements pretty much designed for the Cold War must give way to the new demands of war against extremists and other evolving 21st century challenges,” said Rumsfeld. Of the criteria for the closings, he said, “military judgments have played the key role from the outset, and properly so. In a time of war, whenever we can find ways to increase support for military needs to help the warfighters, we should do no less.”

The defense secretary also recommended a list of dozens of other domestic military installations, including 29 major bases, that will remain open but with thousands fewer troops. Overall, the proposal will eliminate 218,570 military and civilian positions at U.S. bases while adding 189,565 positions to others, for a net reduction of 29,000 jobs. The closures and downsizing would occur over six years starting in 2006.

To go into effect, the Pentagon’s proposal must be approved by the Defense Department’s Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC) by September 8, and then agreed to by Congress and the White House.

Proposals on base closings, as well as cutbacks in weapons systems produced by U.S. war manufacturers, are particularly sensitive pork-barrel issues. This latest proposal is generating vocal opposition among both Democratic and Republican politicians, far greater than any response to closings of U.S. installations abroad.

In Texas, for example, Republican governor Richard Perry has ordered the creation of a BRAC Response Strike Force to develop a plan of action to respond to the Pentagon’s proposal to close four major military bases in Texas and realign six others, even though Rumsfeld’s proposals actually result in a net gain of 9,000 personnel in Texas.

Describing these facilities as “essential assets in the War on Terror,” Perry asserted that “the State of Texas is prepared to make every effort to keep these bases open.” Texas has 18 major military installations that employ 230,000 soldiers and civilians. Texas officials said the bases generate about \$43 billion a year in funds for the state.

Among the biggest closures being pro-

jected is the submarine base in New London, Connecticut, which eliminates more than 7,000 military jobs and nearly 1,000 civilian ones. Also closing would be the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in Maine, affecting 4,000 civilian and 200 military positions.

Rumsfeld said more U.S. bases were on the chopping block, but the Pentagon scaled back its initially proposed closings in part to accommodate the tens of thousands of U.S. troops and their families returning from Germany.

The domestic closures are part of a package together with plans to close 35 percent of U.S. bases and installations abroad over the coming decade.

Instead of stationing large numbers of U.S. troops and their families at bases abroad, the Pentagon is negotiating with more governments to establish smaller “Forward Operating Sites,” sometimes referred to as “lily pads,” and others called “Cooperative Security Locations.” These bases are designed to be maintained by a smaller, regularly rotated force—unencumbered by family members—that can be expanded quickly when the U.S. rulers choose.

At the same time, Washington is moving to transform the U.S. military into a more rapidly deployable force. By 2010 they have set a goal of being able to deploy a full brigade anywhere in the world in 96 hours, a full division within 120 hours, and five divisions (some 75,000 troops) within 30 days.

One area where the Pentagon is seeking to secure new forward operating bases and training arrangements is Eastern Europe, from which troops can be deployed to the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea region, and parts of the Middle East with greater ease than the large permanent bases in Germany.

“Army, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Navy members already train periodically in countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, and the Republic of Georgia,” stated an article in the May 16 *Army Times*. “The U.S. Army hopes to eventually establish an Eastern European Task Force—a headquarters of about 100 permanently assigned personnel—to oversee the rotation of troops throughout the region.”

While it has not been decided where to locate the Eastern European Task Force, the governments of both Bulgaria and Romania have expressed a strong interest in hosting it.

Any permanent U.S. presence in Eastern Europe would have to take place in a NATO country, Air Force Gen. Charles Wald, deputy chief of the U.S. European Command, told the *Army Times*. The current East European members of NATO are Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

2005 Socialist Workers Party election campaigns	
City/State	Candidate(s)
Atlanta	James Harris, Mayor
Boston†	Margaret Trowe, Mayor Laura Garza, City Council†
Cleveland	Romina Green, Mayor
Craig, Colorado*	Deborah Liatos, Board of Education, Moffat County
Des Moines, Iowa	Edwin Fruit, City Council
Detroit	Ilona Gersh, Mayor
Houston*	Brian Williams, Mayor Anthony Dutrow, City Controller
Miami**	Omari Musa, Mayor
New Jersey†	Angela Lariscy, Governor Michael Ortega, State Assembly, 28th District
New York*	Marín Koppel, Mayor Arrin Hawkins, Manhattan Borough President Pete Musser, Bronx Borough President Dan Fein, City Comptroller
Pittsburgh*	Brian Taylor, Mayor
San Francisco*	Dennis Richter, Treasurer * Laura Anderson, City Attorney
Seattle*	Chris Hoepfner, Mayor
St. Paul, Minnesota	Jacob Perasso, Mayor
*petitioning planned	
**plan to get candidate on ballot through filing fee	
†petitioning completed	

Socialist workers in Boston wrap up city council ballot effort

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON—Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Margaret Trowe for mayor and Laura Garza for city council at-large here successfully completed a target weekend of petitioning May 15 with 1,005 signatures to place Garza on the ballot—double the city requirement.

Campaign supporters petitioned May 14 at grocery stores in the Dorchester, South Boston, and East Boston workers districts and at the

Petitioning schedule to put SWP candidates on the ballot		
City/State	Signatures required/Goal	Dates
Pittsburgh	1,040/2,000	May 28 - June 30
Seattle	1,500/3,000	June 18 - July 2
San Francisco	1,766/3,500	July 3 - July 11
New York	7,500/15,000–20,000	July 12 - Aug. 5
Craig, Colorado	50/(goal to be set)	Aug. 3 - Aug. 26
Houston	1,600/4,000	Aug. 13 - Sept. 11
Boston and New Jersey have completed petitioning		

Socialist workers in U.S. coal mines:

The organization of western coal has begun; ‘let’s act on it’

BY BRIAN TAYLOR
AND DAN FROST

PITTSBURGH—“The organization of western coal has begun. It has taken time to internalize this, but what is in front of pro-union fighters is to get this reality in our bones and *act* on it,” reported Ann Kelly to a meeting of socialist coal miners here April 23–24.

“The coal industry is in a boom now because of the overall high energy prices,” Kelly said. “In the western U.S. especially, some mines are reopening and all of them are hiring more workers. This reflects a continuation of the long-term shift in coal production to the West where the coal is lower sulfur and the union is less established. In this context, miners are becoming more confident and less fearful of losing their jobs.”

“A year and a half after the opening of the Co-Op miners’ fight for a union, the miners continue reaching out to others and winning support,” Kelly continued. “What has been gained in the Co-Op fight was shown at the recent informational picket lines organized by the miners near Price. The response from people passing by was enthusiastic support. Truckers and others were honking their horns and waving.”

“The Co-Op fight can’t be defended and consolidated on its own,” said Carlos Fernandez. “This can only be done by extending the struggle through the further organization of western coal. Safety questions will increasingly weigh in as a big factor as the bosses drive for profits leads them to try to cut corners on safety.”

Coal miners face more and more pressures from their foremen to violate safety laws in the race for more production. Felipe Arroyo reported on recent substantial roof falls at his mine that could have been prevented if the company organized better roof support. Arroyo also spoke about company efforts to extend the workday without additional pay and how miners responded by organizing to

leave the mine at their quitting time.

Brian Taylor, a member of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1197, reported that at Consol’s 84 Mine in Pennsylvania some workers have raised the need to fight to take back the 30-minute lunch break. The company pays workers for 30 minutes at time-and-a-half rate if they agree to have their break interrupted as needed. For production workers this can mean no break at all in a nine-and-a-half-hour day. A few crews have begun stopping work and taking their break, he reported.

Tom Janco reported that he and other miners at his mine have begun the process of taking the idea of organizing a union at their mine to many co-workers. “Sometimes it is on the job in one-on-one discussions, and sometimes we visit co-workers at home to have more thorough discussions,” Janco said. “We start with a discussion of the real safety problems we encounter daily on the job. The company is making decisions everyday that threaten our lives. The need for a union is a life-and-death question. With a union we can stand up to the company on safety without endangering our job. This gets a real response.”

“Retirees would tell us that they thought they would see the death of the UMWA in their lifetime,” Kelly said. But when they heard about the strike of Co-Op miners, this changed. “They saw it as a chance to rebuild the union,” she said.

A recent conference of women miners in New Mexico also showed the increased confidence among pro-union workers, Kelly said. The conference, initiated by the Inter-



Militant/Pat Miller

Rally of Co-Op miners and supporters in Salt Lake City last July to protest company attacks on unionists one week after they returned to work. Demonstration was held at A-1 Disposal Company, owned by same capitalists that own C.W. Mining.

national Union of Operating Engineers Local 953, took up questions of hiring and discrimination against women miners and how they can use their union to fight for equal treatment.

Miners at the meeting reaffirmed the centrality of having two or more socialist workers working together in the same mine. “This puts us in the strongest position to be a part of struggles that will break out as more workers increasingly look to use union power to resist the bosses’ attacks,” Fernandez explained.

Several miners at the meeting spoke about the importance of getting the *Militant* and the two newest issues of *New International* magazine into the hands of fellow miners. “Taking the time to go visit miners at home, to sit down and review the charts, graphs, and content contained in the articles ‘Their Transformation and Ours,’ and ‘Capitalism’s Long Hot Winter Has Begun,’ is one of the best ways to convince co-workers of the need to buy

the magazine,” said Tim Lott, a coal miner in southwestern Pennsylvania.

The meeting also discussed the lawsuit by Utah mine bosses against 16 Co-Op miners, the UMWA, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the *Deseret Morning News*, and many individuals and other organizations. The suit also names as defendants the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party. The bosses refer to the UMWA in this harassment suit as a “rabid” organization.

“This suit is very serious,” said Kelly. “It aims to intimidate the miners from pursuing UMWA representation. We have the responsibility to explain the stakes of this suit and build the broadest support possible.”

The socialist workers active in the UMWA resolved to organize to get endorsers and contributors to the Militant Fighting Fund on the job and among other coal miners throughout the United States. The fund was set up last year to help the *Militant* and SWP fight alongside other defendants to dismiss this harassment lawsuit by the Utah mine bosses.

Unionists, professors in Utah, California endorse the Militant Fighting Fund

BY PAUL MAILHOT

SALT LAKE CITY—Supporters of the Militant Fighting Fund continue making progress in Salt Lake City, Utah, where many of the defendants in the C.W. Mining case reside. This week Utah Jobs with Justice backed the *Militant* newspaper defense campaign at their monthly executive board meeting.

Howard Beck, recording secretary for United Steel Workers Local 8-578 and himself an endorser of the Militant Fighting Fund, gave a presentation at the Jobs with Justice meeting and encouraged the organization to become endorsers. “There was a lot of support for the *Militant*’s freedom of the press rights. Many of the people at the meeting know what the *Militant* has done writing about the Co-Op miners struggle,” said Beck. “The important thing now is that there were quite a few people in the labor movement who were at the meeting and can be followed up on.”

Jobs with Justice is one of the organizations in the Salt Lake City area that have organized support activities for the Co-Op miners over the past year and a half. As a result of that work, which included food drives, car caravans to Huntington for rallies, and picket lines at C.W. Mining-related businesses in Salt Lake City, the organization became a target of the coal company and was also sued for defamation as part of the C.W. Mining case. “There was also a lot of support at our executive board meeting for organizing another solidarity action with the Co-Op miners in Salt Lake City,” said George Neckel, director of Utah Jobs with Justice.

Another recent endorser of the Militant Fighting Fund in Salt Lake City is Brooke Hopkins, professor of English at the University of Utah. Hopkins gave a list of some 15 other professors at the university he thought would be interested in becoming endorsers and encouraged organizers of the Militant Fighting Fund to use his name when contacting them. Hopkins also contributed \$100 to the defense campaign.

Two professors in California have also signed on as endorsers of the defense campaign.

“As a member of our faculty union, I support the right of working people everywhere to organize and bargain collectively,” wrote Eugene Ruyle, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at California State University, Long Beach. “The lawsuit must be opposed, and I thank the Militant Fighting Fund and the Political Rights Defense Fund for their role in fighting this attempt to intimidate and harass the workers and their supporters. I am enclosing a small donation to help in this crucial struggle.”

“The fight to defend the *Militant* newspaper and the SWP against the

mine owners’ harassment lawsuit...is an important battleground today in defense of free speech and freedom of the press,” wrote Peter McLaren, a professor at UCLA’s Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, in a May 12 endorsement letter.

New literature has been put out explaining the Militant Fighting Fund campaign and the stakes for the labor movement and supporters of free speech and freedom of the press in beating back the C.W. Mining harassment lawsuit. This new material can be ordered by writing to Militant Fighting Fund, P.O. Box 520994, Salt Lake City, UT, 84152, or sending an email to MilitantFightingFund@yahoo.com. Much needed contributions can also be sent to the above address.

Posada Carriles

Continued from front page

ment agency (ICE) has 48 hours to rule on Posada Carriles’s immigration status. “As a matter of immigration law and policy, ICE does not generally remove people to Cuba, nor does ICE generally remove people to countries believed to be acting on Cuba’s behalf,” the statement said.

The arrest occurred the same day as a demonstration in Havana of about a million people demanding that Washington act against Posada Carriles.

Posada Carriles has a long history of carrying out violent activity against the Cuban Revolution with U.S. government complicity. In 1961 he was part of the U.S.-organized mercenary invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, which was quickly crushed by the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces and militia. Afterward, according to his own account in a 1998 *New York Times* interview, he was recruited by the CIA to carry out assassination attempts against Cuban leaders.

In the 1970s he worked as chief of operations for the Venezuelan secret police. Arrested there for his part in the 1976 Cuban airline bombing, Posada Carriles was allowed to escape from prison in 1985 without being convicted. He then turned up in El Salvador where he worked closely with Lt. Col. Oliver North and other U.S. officials in supplying weapons to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries fighting to overthrow the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua.

In the *Times* interview, Posada Carriles bragged about his involvement in a series of 1997 bombings in Havana, including one at a hotel that killed an Italian tourist. In November 2000 he led a failed assassination attempt in Panama against Cuban president Fidel Castro. He and three other ultrarightists were convicted of charges related to this crime, but were later pardoned by the Panamanian government.

Utility workers strike in Boston

Continued from front page

not showing the company’s last “good offer” to the membership. The bosses are demanding a “flexible work schedule.”

The union says the current company proposal would eliminate dental and eye care coverage for retirees. It has also pointed out that understaffing is a safety issue. There are not enough workers to do preventive maintenance. This point is driven home by a chant on the picket line, “Hey, hey, Tom May, How many dogs have you killed today?” There have been several incidents in which dogs were electrocuted from walking near unsecured electric power lines with “stray voltage.” Thomas May is the chief executive officer of NStar.

Last July, a teenager driving down a highway in Natick, Massachusetts, was maimed when an explosion of NStar underground wiring propelled a manhole cover through the windshield of his car.

Maggie Trowe and Sarah Ullman contributed to this article.



Militant/Maggie Trowe

Striking utility workers picket Nstar plant in Boston, May 16.

Preparation for SWP convention

Continued from front page youth festival in Venezuela this summer, one student argued that the U.S. economic problems stemmed from the collapse of “dot-coms” that proliferated during the 1990s. “I told him that’s only part of a much deeper problem for capitalism,” stated Ortega. “In *New Internationalist* it explains why, to see the real crisis, the debt bubble that’s growing, you have to look at what’s happening to the big banks today.”

Chauncey Robinson said, “The classes are important because you have to get to know your opponent, which is capitalism.” She said, “the article explains how they’re reshaping the military, how they’re shifting from big bases like the ‘mini-Americas’ in Germany, to the so-called lily pads they are setting up” as jumping-off points to be able to rapidly launch military assaults around the world.

Robinson, 19, who works at a department store and goes to school at Essex Community College, said that when she joins campaign teams in working-class districts, “a lot of people respond when we bring up the need for unions,” the central importance of which is discussed in “Their Transformation and Ours.”

Tom Baumann, 19, just finished his freshman year at the New Brunswick campus of Rutgers University. He is currently working a summer job at a meat-packing plant.

“The classes have helped me understand better the work of the party’s industrial fractions,” he said, “why party members are in industrial jobs.” He pointed to a section of the political resolution that outlines the Socialist Workers Party’s turn to the industrial unions.

“I especially like these classes because we’re all equals,” he remarked. “We can all add to the discussions and draw the lessons together.”

“I’m also looking forward to campaigning in New York after the convention,” said Baumann. A drive to put the SWP candidates on the ballot in New York will be mounted in the last half of July (see page 3).

Ben O’Shaughnessy, 19, a student at the State University of New York in Al-

bany, is working to organize a group of students from his area to attend the world youth festival. He took part in one of the recent Sunday morning classes in New York City.

“I found the class very helpful. We only got through three questions in the reading,” he said, because of the discussion they generated. Referring to “Their Transformation and Ours,” he said, “I like the way it’s broken up into what they [the U.S. rulers] are doing and what we need to do. I’m taking a class on U.S. foreign policy, and this reading is useful because it is more working-class oriented.”

Those interested in attending the Socialist Workers Party convention can contact the nearest party branch. They can be found in the directory on page 8.

252 ‘Militant’ subscriptions left in final week of drive

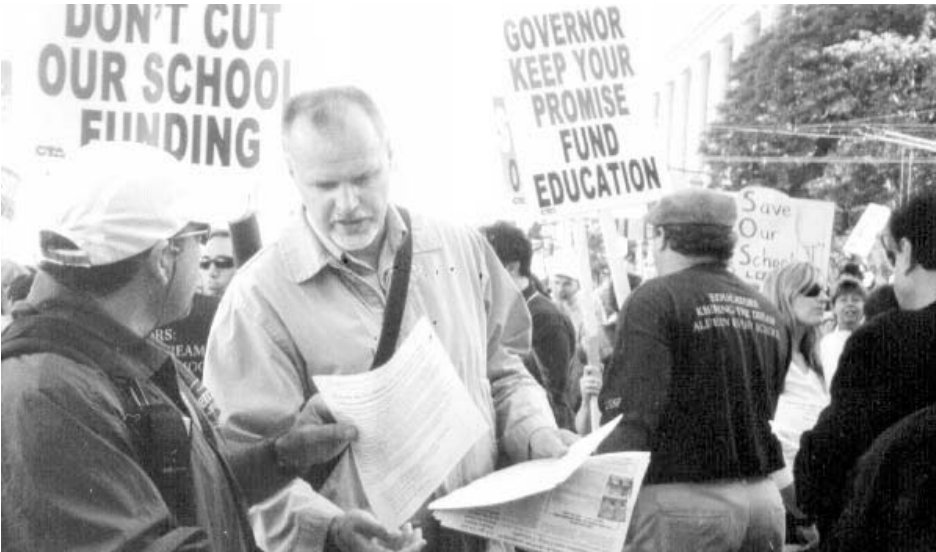
As we enter the final week of the Militant subscription drive, supporters of the socialist newsweekly have reached 78 percent of the target. That leaves 252 subscriptions to sell in one week to reach the goal of 1,350. A determined effort in the last days of the campaign is needed to make the international goal. Results of sales in a number of cities, like those reported below, show that the goal can be reached. All subscriptions received by the Militant as of noon Wednesday, May 25, will be counted in the final chart.

BY KATHERINE BENNETT

PRICE, Utah—“We really need a union here,” said a coal truck driver who stopped and picked up a copy of the Militant from socialists hawking the paper outside a coal mine portal here May 16. Many drivers he works with are talking about the need for a union, he said. Most of the coal haulers in the area are paid by the load, not by the hour. Many times they have to wait at the mine for loads, which is unpaid labor for them.

“You will never get a union here,” another coal hauler told those selling the Militant. “The company would not allow it.” He nodded in agreement, however, when a Militant supporter replied, “If you wait for the company, you will never get it.”

The first day a national Militant sales team started a weeklong effort to reach out to coal miners and others in Carbon



Militant/Betsey Stone Dennis Richter (center), SWP candidate for San Francisco treasurer, campaigns May 11 at teachers rally. Such campaigning is part of activities to build SWP convention.

and Emery counties here in Utah, 10 supporters of the socialist newsweekly fanned out across this region—the center of coal mining in Utah. They set up campaign tables outside grocery stores and the local post office, and campaigned door-to-door and outside the entrance to mines during the shift change.

A young worker traveled from Cleveland and two workers and a student from Salt Lake City traveled to Price to join the weeklong effort.

Four days later, 17 subscriptions to the Militant and its sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*, had been sold. Half of those were to coal miners or retired members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). About 30 single copies have been sold, more than a dozen at mine portals. The teams have visited miners who have been active in the fight to win representation by the UMWA at the Co-Op mine in nearby Huntington. Two of the unionists decided to subscribe to the paper, which has carried regular coverage of their struggle.

One Chicano miner, who works at a non-union mine, bought a Militant subscription, endorsed the Militant Fighting Fund, and contributed \$20 (see editorial on page 10).

At another nonunion mine, a young coal miner stopped to talk with Militant salespeople. He subscribes to the paper already, he said, but bought a copy anyway. He also

donated \$3 he had with him to the Militant fund drive because he said he enjoys reading the paper.

BY ÓLÖF ANDRA PROPPÉ

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—Socialists in Iceland were well received as we set up a campaign table on Saturday May 14 outside a supermarket in Selfoss, a town in a farming area in the south of Iceland.

Discussions ranged from the occupation of Iraq, to the recent arrests of migrant workers in this country, to the increasing concentration of ownership in the fishing industry. Gudjon, a worker on the fishing trawlers for many years, talked about the devastating impact this has on fishing communities. The biggest companies in the industry keep buying up the fishing quotas allowed by the government in smaller towns and move the business to the larger towns and cities, forcing people to move.

“This is the kind of paper we need,” said an older worker as he looked at the Militant. He asked what we had in Icelandic and bought the pamphlet *The Working Class and The Transformation of Learning*. “Finally we have a workers paper here,” he said to his friend, pointing to the table and the pamphlet he had just bought.

Four people signed up to subscribe to the Militant. One bought a copy of *Nytt Athjodlegt* no. 1 (the Icelandic translation of *New Internationalist* no. 11), and a couple of pamphlets were sold.

\$90,000 Militant Fund 3/26–5/22: Week 7 of 8			
	Goal	Paid	%
AUSTRALIA	750	708	94%
CANADA	1,230	500	41%
FRANCE	300	100	33%
ICELAND	200	139	70%
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	1,750	1,677	96%
Christchurch	800	200	25%
SWEDEN	800	588	74%
UNITED KINGDOM	700	0	0%
UNITED STATES			
Los Angeles	9,000	9,120	101%
San Francisco	9,500	9,590	101%
Tampa	1,500	1,495	99%
Price, UT	2,400	2,105	88%
Houston	3,500	2,995	86%
Birmingham	1,700	1,410	83%
Newark	3,750	3,080	82%
Boston	3,300	2,676	81%
New York	11,000	8,866	81%
Detroit	2,500	1,985	79%
NE Pennsylvania	1,500	1,170	78%
Craig, CO	1,800	1,300	72%
Omaha	355	253	71%
Seattle	6,000	4,100	68%
Washington	3,000	2,028	68%
Atlanta	4,300	2,875	67%
Pittsburgh	2,500	1,665	67%
Miami	1,400	875	63%
Salt Lake City	600	375	63%
Philadelphia	3,000	1,760	59%
Chicago	4,000	2,290	57%
Cleveland	1,000	518	52%
Des Moines	1,100	500	45%
Twin Cities	4,800	1,981	41%
Other	700	200	29%
Totals	90,735	69,124	76%
Should be	90,000	78,750	88%

\$21,000 to go on Militant Fund

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—Momentum has picked up as we enter the final week of the Militant fund drive. Last week partisans of the Militant sent in \$20,857—the largest amount in a single week so far. That brings the total to \$69,124. With a similar effort the remaining \$21,000 can be collected by the May 22 deadline.

Partisans of the socialist publications in San Francisco sent in nearly \$4,000 last week. Together with Militant supporters in Los Angeles they are the first to surpass their quotas. Los Angeles has been leading the way forward during the past seven weeks of the drive. Tampa, Florida; Price, Utah; and New Zealand and Australia are hot on their heels. Exceeding local quotas in each of these areas, and others, will help meet, and perhaps go over, the goal.

Supporters of the Militant in several other cities report they have contributions on the way in the mail.

In Birmingham they raised their quota by \$400 to \$1,700. With 83 percent of it in hand already, they are confident of making the new quota, reports Susan LaMont.

The Militant depends on these contributions to sustain its publication. Funds are used to help pay for rent, electricity, telephone, equipment maintenance, printing, and shipping. Please send your contribution now. All donations received by 6:00 p.m. on Wednesday, May 25, will be recorded in the final chart. Checks or money orders should be made out to the Militant, earmarked “Spring Fund Drive,” and sent to the Militant at 306 W. 37th St., 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

New Internationalist sales campaign

March 26 – August 15

Country	Goal	Sold	%
UNITED KINGDOM			
Edinburgh	35	36	103%
London	120	102	85%
UK total	155	138	89%
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	50	41	82%
Christchurch	20	12	60%
N.Z. total	70	53	76%
SWEDEN	40	27	68%
UNITED STATES			
Omaha	32	28	88%
Washington	100	70	70%
Chicago	100	67	67%
Houston	100	67	67%
Cleveland	40	26	65%
Seattle	90	57	63%
NE Pennsylvania	40	25	63%
Miami	70	43	61%
Atlanta	100	60	60%
Los Angeles	200	114	57%
New York	250	142	57%
Detroit	60	34	57%
Tampa	60	33	55%
Pittsburgh	100	52	52%
Twin Cities	105	54	51%
Craig, CO	40	19	48%
San Francisco	185	87	47%
Boston	120	53	44%
Des Moines	80	34	43%
Newark	125	53	42%
Philadelphia	75	31	41%
Price, UT	65	25	38%
Birmingham	50	17	34%
Salt Lake City	15	2	13%
Other		72	
U.S. total	2,202	1,265	57%
AUSTRALIA	50	27	54%
CANADA	120	63	53%
ICELAND	32	14	44%
Int'l totals	2,669	1,587	59%

'Militant' Subscription Drive April 2–May 22 Week 6 of 7			
Country	Goal	Sold	%
AUSTRALIA	30	28	93%
UNITED KINGDOM			
Edinburgh	20	19	95%
London	40	37	93%
UK total	60	56	93%
SWEDEN	20	18	90%
NEW ZEALAND			
Christchurch	15	13	87%
Auckland	35	29	83%
N.Z. total	50	42	84%
ICELAND	17	14	82%
UNITED STATES			
Craig, CO	20	20	100%
Washington	55	52	95%
Los Angeles	100	94	94%
Newark	70	62	89%
Atlanta	40	35	88%
Twin Cities	70	61	87%
New York	115	99	86%
Boston	60	51	85%
Des Moines	50	42	84%
San Francisco	25	21	84%
Omaha	25	21	84%
Chicago	65	53	82%
Salt Lake City	10	8	80%
Detroit	28	22	79%
Tampa	30	23	77%
Houston	50	38	76%
Price, UT	50	38	76%
NE Pennsylvania	40	30	75%
Birmingham	25	18	72%
Seattle	35	24	69%
Pittsburgh	50	29	58%
Miami	65	27	42%
Cleveland	35	12	34%
Philadelphia	50	15	30%
U.S. total	1,163	895	77%
CANADA	60	45	75%
Int'l totals	1,400	1,098	78%
Goal/Should be	1,350	1,157	86%

1943 British bombing of Hamburg killed 45,000

We publish the article below, and an accompanying one on this page, as part of this column, which appears regularly this year—the 60th anniversary since the end of World War II—to tell the truth about the second worldwide interimperialist slaughter.

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—During World War II the Allied powers fought their rivals in the Axis bloc over redivision and plunder of the world. In the course of the war, both competing groups of imperialists committed crimes against humanity. One of these was the 1943 firebombing of Hamburg by the British air force, through which London turned the mass murder of civilian populations in Germany into an “acceptable” and “legitimate” method of war.

U.S. and British bombers expanded these firebombings to Dresden and other German cities in 1945. That same year, the U.S. Army Air Force also unleashed firestorms over Tokyo and some 60 other Japanese cities, killing more Japanese civilians than the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For the British rulers, the second worldwide interimperialist slaughter was a war to defend their colonial possessions in south-east Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, and to prevent their German rivals from establishing ascendancy in Europe.

Over several nights in late July 1943, the British Royal Air Force (RAF) carried out a series of bombardments of Hamburg, creating a firestorm that took the lives of about 45,000 people and destroyed 56 percent of the city’s homes and 436 public buildings. Hamburg was Germany’s second largest city. Those incinerated included Germans and workers from across Europe. These workers—from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, the Ukraine, and Russia—were conscripted to work in Hamburg by the German armies occupying their countries.

This war of conquest was an extension of the British rulers’ assaults on working people at home. During the war, the government imposed a wage freeze and laws restricting strikes. Despite the support by union officials for these measures, the rulers were not able to keep a lid on workers’ resistance. By 1943 coal miners in the United Kingdom went on strike, and engineering workers walked out the next year.

British Air Field Marshall Arthur Harris planned the Hamburg raids. Also known since then as “Bomber Harris,” the general later boasted, “No air raid ever known before had been so terrible as that which Hamburg had endured. The second largest city in Germany, with a population of 2 million, had been wiped out in three nights.” Harris carried out directives from the Air Ministry, which had been approved by British prime minister Winston Churchill and by the war-time coalition cabinet, in which the Labour Party served.

Arthur Harris had sought his fortune in Rhodesia, then a colony of Britain, in gold mining and horse driving. He joined the Royal Flying Corps and in 1919 became a squadron leader in the RAF. In this capacity, he served throughout the British Empire (India, Iraq, Iran, and the Middle East) during the 1920s and the early ’30s.

During this time, the RAF used bombing raids against a rebellion in Iraq. “The truculent and warlike tribes,” Harris said, “had to be quelled.” Some of these raids included the use of poison gas and delayed action bombs. Some in the RAF were appalled by this practice. Air Commodore Lionel Charlton resigned his commission after the raids on Iraq. Harris said, however, that “the only thing the Arab understands is the heavy hand.”

Particular target: industrial workers

On Feb. 14, 1942, the Air Ministry issued a new directive to the Bomber Command authorizing unrestricted bombing, aimed particularly at working-class neighborhoods. “It has been decided that the primary objective of your operations should now be focused on the morale of the enemy civil population and in particular of the industrial workers,” the order said. Lord Cherwell provided further rationalization for the campaign, claiming that the “dehousing” of the German workers



The German city of Hamburg lay in ruins after firebombing by British air force in July 1943, during World War II. British command targeted workers’ districts.

and their families would doubtlessly “break the spirit of the people.”

“I suppose it is clear that the aiming-points are to be built-up areas, not...the dockyards or aircraft factories,” said Chief of Air Staff Charles Portal. “This must be made quite clear.”

In February 1942 Harris was appointed head of the Bomber Command. Now he could put into operation his belief that an enemy could be bombed into submission—which he called “area bombing.”

Harris developed the plan for maximum

carnage: the first wave of bombers would drop high explosive bombs damaging the city’s infrastructure, preventing emergency services from using roads. A second wave of blast bombs would destroy roofs and blow out windows, creating optimum conditions for air drafts and spreading of fire. Then incendiary bombs would be dropped, starting a firestorm.

The operation was code-named Gomorrah, after the biblical city that was destroyed by fire. Citizens and historians in Hamburg refer to the assault as “The Catastrophe.”

While imperialists celebrate ‘V-E Day,’ Algiers blasts 1945 massacre of pro-independence forces by Paris

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—Officials of the French government called for improved relations with Algeria but refused to take responsibility for the deaths of 45,000 Algerians demonstrating for independence at the end of the Second World War, the Associated Press reported. In a May 7 speech, Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika asked Paris to acknowledge its part in the massacre.

The Algerian government also appealed for international help in removing millions of land mines left by the French military during its 1954–62 war against the Algerian independence movement.

While the Allied imperialist governments, headed by Washington, celebrated “V-E Day,” events across Algeria marked the 60th anniversary of the 1945 massacre. “The Algerian people have always been waiting for France to admit the acts perpetrated during the colonization period and the liberation war,” said Bouteflika in his May 7 speech.

While admitting that thousands of Algerians were killed in 1945, Paris has disputed the numbers, placing the toll at “only” 15,000 to 20,000 killed by French forces. The French government also continues to try to portray its occupation of Algeria as something other than colonization. “Each of the two sides has its view of these events,” said French foreign ministry secretary Renaud Muselier, according to AP. “For Algerians, it was a war of colonization and for the French it was a war.”

In February, the French ambassador to Algeria called the massacre that occurred in the city of Sétif an “inexcusable tragedy,” reported Al-Jazeera. And Foreign Minister Michel Barnier said the two countries must “look together at the past, in order to overcome the chapter most painful for our two peoples.” Barnier’s remarks appeared in the Algerian daily *El Watan* on May 8, the day that thousands across the country commemorated the 1945 massacre.

Barnier has suggested that Paris’s role in that massacre would be part of discussions aimed at signing a French-Algerian friendship treaty this year. Paris has seen its influence in Algeria weaken as Washington continues to make gains in the region, including growing investments in

the country’s oil industry.

Starting in 1942, the North African Allied headquarters was located in Algeria and Algerians served with Allied forces. During the French-organized celebration of the end of the war on May 8, 1945, thousands of Algerians took advantage of the opportunity to demonstrate for independence. In the town of Sétif demonstrators unfurled Algerian flags—banned by the French government.

The protesters fought back when French cops attempted to confiscate the flags. The pro-independence demonstrations spread rapidly, involving at least 50,000 Algerians, even by the conservative estimates of French government officials at the time. Among those who sided with Paris and were attacked by the rebels were members of the Algerian Communist Party, which opposed independence.

“An uprising of the Algerian people against French rule had brought about the military action,” said a news item in the June 9, 1945, *Militant*. “In the early stages of the revolt, 97 Europeans, mostly French colonial administrators and wealthy residents of the Constantine area, were reported killed.” Among the sources the *Militant* used for that report was the U.S. Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*.

“Among the first victims, according to other sources, were Stalinists,” the *Militant* continued. “One local Communist Party secretary was killed and beaten. The anger of the Algerian masses arose from the support to French imperialism offered by the Algerian Communist Party. Last spring this party suddenly stopped declaiming against imperialism and instead took a stand against the Algerians,” who were demanding independence, it said.

“The bloody repression was the answer of French imperialism to demands of starving colonials for food,” the *Militant* reported. “French bombers smashed entire native villages in the mountain area near Constantine, Algeria. The airmen flew as many as 300 sorties a day. The medium and heavy bombers they used were made in the United States.

“‘Entire communities of thatched and dirt homes were leveled,’ said *Stars and Stripes*. ‘French fighters in British-made aircraft followed up the bombers to strafe the fleeing

RAF planes bombed at night, while the U.S. 8th Air Force attacked during the day to create an around-the-clock bombing. The British bombs ranged from four-pound incendiary sticks to 8,000-pound high explosive devices. A total of 9,000 tons of bombs were dropped. These weapons were intended to “make the enemy burn and bleed in every way,” as Churchill had urged in 1941.

For the first time in the war, sustained aerial bombardment led to a firestorm. Great numbers of fires were started in a relatively small and densely built-up area, creating a tornado of fire, with winds up to 150 miles per hour and temperatures of 800 degrees Celsius (1,500 degrees Fahrenheit). Street asphalt burst into flames, pedestrians were sucked off pavements and incinerated, and people were cooked to death in air raid shelters. According to Hamburg’s police chief, “Children were torn away from their parents’ hands by the force of the hurricane and whirled into the fire.”

Chances of survival were greater for those with access to the purpose built bunkers, with gas- and smoke-tight doors. But in the area where the firestorm raged most had only basement shelters, where tens of thousands were asphyxiated. Following the first RAF raid, German authorities tried to prevent workers from escaping subsequent bombings, because they feared losing industrial output.

Only glimpses of what was done by the British imperialists found their way into the British press. The Aug. 6, 1943, *Daily Telegraph*, for example, quoted a RAF officer who had flown over Hamburg saying, “The term *raid* is no longer expressive enough for what is happening. From what I have seen

Continued on Page 7



French soldier stands over body of Algerian independence fighter May 8, 1945, after revolt in Sétif, Algeria.

population or dive-bomb Arab strongholds in the mountains.”

The 1945 revolt and its brutal suppression were part of the prelude to the Algerian independence war. The Algerian revolution rose with the wave of anticolonial struggles that swept Africa and Asia after World War II. The first action of the Algerian National Liberation Front was a guerrilla attack on Nov. 1, 1954. Paris threw the full weight of its army, supplied with the latest weapons from NATO, against the Algerian independence movement. During the seven-and-a-half-year war more than 400,000 French troops were engaged, including two-thirds of Paris’s air force and half its navy. More than 8,000 Algerian villages were destroyed under the scorched earth policy of the French military, and more than 1 million Algerians were killed.

The French colonialists used land mines and electrified barriers to seal Algeria’s borders with Tunisia and Morocco. The Algerian government said it has removed some 8 million of these mines. Algiers estimates there are 3 million more mines left to clear, according to an Al-Jazeera report.

Meetings celebrate new French edition of ‘Changing Face of U.S. Politics’

Book describes course of action proletarian parties have followed

BY BEVERLY BROWN

TORONTO—“We’re not only here to celebrate the publication of this new, entirely revised and expanded French-language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*,” said Michel Prairie, a leader of the Communist League in Canada. “More important than the book are the proletarian parties that exist in Canada and the United States because they followed the course of action this book presents.”

Prairie, who is also the director of the French-language publication program for Pathfinder Press, made these remarks as he welcomed some 50 people to a May 8 meeting here organized by the Communist League.

Participants included communist workers from Canada and several U.S. cities. Supporters of the Communist League from Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver attended, as did young people involved in building a delegation from Canada to the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students taking place in Caracas, Venezuela, in August. A janitor at the Steelworkers hall where the meeting was held also joined the meeting and workers taking part in other activities at the union center stopped by to purchase books and talk.

Another 20 people had attended a similar celebration in Montreal two days earlier—including four youth who participated in a recent Quebec-wide student strike.

In addition to Prairie, who chaired the forum, speakers included: Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Committee in the United States, editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, and president of Pathfinder Press; Jim Altenberg, an SWP supporter in San Francisco and a member of Pathfinder’s Printing Project steering committee; Natalie Stake-Doucet, a leader of the Communist League and the co-chair of Canada’s Preparatory Committee for the Caracas world youth festival; Marie-Claire David, a Montreal supporter of the Communist League; and Joel Britton, a member of the SWP National Committee.

Prairie pointed out that this year marks the 20th anniversary of sustained efforts by the Communist League and its collaborators internationally to publish Pathfinder titles in French. “For a socialist revolution to succeed,” he said, “we need to fight to overcome the divisions within the working class in Canada. One-quarter of Canada’s population speaks French and Quebec is an oppressed nation. To build a communist party in Canada, class-conscious workers

need to come together on an equal footing regardless of the language they speak. Translating and publishing in French the books and pamphlets of Pathfinder is indispensable to that goal. Nowhere else are the lessons of the modern working-class movement accessible to us.”

Building proletarian parties

Waters began her remarks calling attention to two events that had been on the front pages of papers in the United States and Canada that day. One was Washington’s beligerent threat that it was closely monitoring what it called “rapid, extensive preparations for a nuclear weapons test” by north Korea, and briefing U.S. allies on the measures it intended to take in response.

The second was the announcement that the debt of General Motors and Ford had been reduced to junk-bond status by one of capitalism’s biggest credit agencies. “GM suffered the additional indignity of not even being deemed the highest quality junk,” Waters added. “Many of the \$450 billion worth of bonds in question are held by entities such as your pension funds,” she noted, and the financial press predicts that the reprocessing of this debt will “ripple and roil the fixed income markets for some time to come.”

These two events, Waters noted, “capture some of the titanic forces shaping our world today. But this is a world in which we are active agents, not observers. This is the world that *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* prepares us not to accept or adapt to, but to confront, by organizing a revolutionary working-class party, the only instrument through which the working class can lead itself and its allies out of the ceaseless turmoil and brutality that is capitalism.”

It is almost 25 years since the first edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* in English was published in 1981, Waters continued. “It was part of leading the SWP and the forerunner of the Communist League in Canada to recognize that the long period of capitalist expansion that had begun with Washington’s preparation to enter World War II had ended. That the autumn, preceding what has become capitalism’s long hot winter, had begun. And we acted on that basis. We organized to get the overwhelming majority of our leadership and our members into industry and the industrial unions. Had we not done that when it was possible we would have ceased to be communist parties.”

The second edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, published in 1994, was born in war, Waters said. “It came out of the experiences of our party and our fractions as we met the test of fire during the first U.S.-led war against Iraq in 1990–91, as we campaigned against imperialism and its wars on the job and inside the trade unions, standing up to the chauvinist pressures of the imperialist war drive.”

In his presentation at the end of the program, Britton, who was a member of the SWP’s trade union fraction in the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers at the time of the first Iraq war, described the party’s experiences. “With the test of war we lived this book,” Britton said. “We didn’t just read and study it. We found out what ‘political space’ means,” he added, “why communists must and can move even deeper into the working class in time of war.”

French publication program

Waters also spoke about the communist movement’s French-language publication program, which has included the six issues of the Marxist magazine *Nouvelle Internationale*. She talked about the importance of the work now under way to rapidly



Militant/Heidi Rose
Speakers at May 8 forum in Toronto. From left, Communist League (CL) leader Michel Prairie; Marie-Claire David, a CL supporter in Montreal; and Mary-Alice Waters, member of SWP National Committee and president of Pathfinder Press.

produce two new issues of *Nouvelle* prior to the world youth festival in August.

She drew attention to the fact that “without the efforts of members of the Communist League in Canada Pathfinder would not have been able to publish the books and pamphlets by Thomas Sankara, the central leader of the 1983–87 Burkina Faso revolution, and much of the powerful communist legacy would have been lost.” French is the most common language in Burkina Faso, which was a colony of France.

“As a young Quebecoise I saw the effort being put into publishing these political weapons in French,” said Natalie Stake-Doucet in her presentation. “It was important for me that the Communist League understood the weight of the Quebec national struggle—seeing the fight for Quebec independence as an integral part of the working-class line of march to establish a workers and farmers government in Canada.”

Doucet, the Communist League candidate in the coming federal elections in Canada, said the CL election campaign offers a working-class alternative to all the capitalist parties in the country.

On behalf of the Pathfinder Printing Project volunteers, Jim Altenberg thanked the supporters in Canada whose collective efforts have been decisive to the success of the French-language publishing program.

Marie-Claire David, in her presentation, described some of the accomplishments of the committee based in Canada and France responsible for promoting the sale of Pathfinder’s French-language titles internationally. This includes contacting high school libraries in Quebec, having Pathfinder titles available on databases

used by libraries and bookstores across the French-speaking world, and helping to staff Pathfinder booths at events like the Montreal Book Fair and the Fête de l’Humanité in France.

Militant Fighting Fund

Joel Britton concluded the program with an appeal for endorsements and contributions to the Militant Fighting Fund. The fund was set up last fall to defend the *Militant* and the SWP against a harassment lawsuit filed by C.W. Mining, owners of the Co-Op mine in Utah. Defendants in the suit include the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), 16 Co-Op miners, two of Utah’s main dailies, and other unions and individuals who have backed the 20-month-long fight by the Co-Op miners to win UMWA representation. The *Militant* is targeted in the lawsuit on charges of alleged “defamation” of the mine owners because of its accurate and consistent reporting on the labor battle and its backing of the workers fighting to organize a union, Britton pointed out.

Since last October, Britton noted, almost every dollar contributed to the Militant Fighting Fund has already been spent just in preparing briefs for the first court hearing, which has not yet been scheduled. “Between now and the hearing on the motions by the *Militant* and SWP, and the rest of the defendants, to dismiss the lawsuit, which is expected later this summer, we must raise another \$75,000 to do the necessary work,” he said.

Participants in both meetings responded generously to the appeal, contributing \$5,600 to the Militant Fighting Fund.

Firebombing of Hamburg

Continued from Page 6

in two of the six air attacks made within 71 hours, the destruction is truly devastating. In comparison the enemy raids on London were child’s play.”

The British government ensured that the actual scale of the destruction and loss of life were concealed. Air Ministry official communiqués issued after each raid selectively reported what occurred, referring to the tonnage of bombs dropped and the destruction of factories but not the residential areas hit. Labour Party leader Clement Attlee, then deputy prime minister in the coalition government, openly lied, telling the House of Commons, “There is no indiscriminate bombing.”

British Communist Party aids gov’t

In rationalizing their acts, the British rulers were assisted by the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Great Britain. An article in the July 27, 1943, issue of the paper described the raids on Hamburg as “terrific.” The front-page headline of the same paper two days later read, “Latest Smasher Makes Hamburg’s 72-hour total 5,500 tons.” “Now is the moment for the allies to strike with their full force on the continent of Europe, with deadly smashing blows which can bring the war to a speedy conclusion,” said a *Daily Worker* opinion column while the Hamburg bombing was going on. “Every man, every gun, every plane into action against the enemy.”

This was consistent with the Communist

Party’s class-collaborationist stance inside Britain, which included active strike-breaking during the war. The CP backed the foreign policy course of the Soviet government headed by Joseph Stalin, subordinating the interests of the working classes to that policy and siding with the British imperialists during the war.

Between 1939 and 1945, the RAF Bomber Command attacked 61 German cities with a combined population of 25 million. The raids destroyed 3.6 million homes (20 percent of all homes in these cities), leaving 7.5 million people homeless. About 300,000 Germans were killed as a result of the raids, and 800,000 were wounded. The firebombings destroyed 70 percent of Berlin and 75 percent of Dresden.

In a post-war account, Harris alleged that the “area bombing” of German cities was “comparatively humane.”

As a part of the British rulers’ attempt to celebrate the imperialist slaughter and to build patriotic sentiment for wars they are carrying out today, along with Washington, as in Iraq, and future wars they are preparing, a statue to Harris was erected in 1992 in London. Within 24 hours it had been defaced.

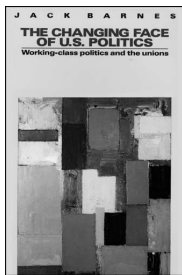
German author Jörg Friedrich published a book recently, revealing the extent of the destruction of Hamburg. In response, an article in the British *Daily Mail* claimed that Friedrich’s book was a “historical travesty.”

For further reading

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics & the Unions by Jack Barnes

“The SWP’s founding convention in 1938 decided on a turn to industry and the industrial unions as the foundations on which all other accomplishments would be built.... This turn was essential to prepare the party to stand up against intensifying bourgeois pressure as the imperialist ruling classes headed toward World War II.” This book recounts how the SWP, from the late 1970s through today, has carried on that communist political continuity in word and deed. Also available in Spanish and French. \$23



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Women’s liberation and African freedom struggle

Below is an except from *Women’s Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle*. The French-language edition *L’émancipation des femmes et la lutte de libération de l’Afrique* is one of Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for May. On March 8, 1987, the author, Thomas Sankara, addressed a rally of several thousand women commemorating International Women’s Day held in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso. The excerpt below is from a section of that speech entitled *Women’s Reality in Burkina Faso*. Sankara was the central leader of a popular uprising in the West African country of Upper Volta that ushered in one of the deepest revolutions in African history. The name of the country was changed to Burkina Faso. Copyright © 2001 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY THOMAS SANKARA

If society sees the birth of a boy as a “gift from God,” the birth of a girl is greeted as an act of fate, or at best, an offering that can serve in the production of food and the perpetuation of the human race.

The little male will be taught how to want

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

and get, to demand and be served, to desire and take, to decide things without being questioned. The future woman, however, is dealt blow after blow by a society that unanimously, as one man—and “as one man” is the appropriate term—drums into her head norms that lead nowhere. A psychological straitjacket called virtue produces a spirit of personal alienation within her. A preoccupation with being protected is nurtured in the



Margaret A. Novicki / Africa Report

Women participate in literacy campaign, Kamboince, Burkina Faso, March 1986.

child’s mind, inclining her to seek the supervision of a guardian or drawing her into marriage. What a monstrous mental fraud! This child knows no childhood. From the age of three, she must be true to her role in life: *to serve and be useful*.

While her brother of four or five will play till he drops from exhaustion or boredom, she, with little ceremony, will enter into production. She already has a trade: assistant housewife. It is an occupation without pay since, as is generally said, a housewife “does nothing.” Do we not write “housewife” on the identity cards of women who have no income, signifying that they have no job, that they are “not working”? With the help of tradition and obligatory submissiveness, our sisters grow up more and more dependent, more and more dominated, more and more exploited, and with less and less free time for leisure.

While the young man’s road is strewn with opportunities to develop himself and take charge of his life, at *every* new stage of the young girl’s life the social straitjacket is pulled tighter around her. She will pay a heavy price for having been born female. And she will pay it throughout her whole life, until the weight of her toil and the effects of her physical and mental self-negation lead her to the day of eternal rest....

Whichever direction we turn—from the central plateau in the northeast, dominated

by societies where power is highly centralized; to the west, where the powers of the village communities are decentralized; or to the southwest, the land of scattered collectives—the traditional form of social organization has at least one point in common: the subjugation of women. In our 8,000 villages, on our 600,000 plots of land, and in our million and more households, on the question of women we can see identical or similar approaches.

From one end of the country to the other, social cohesion as defined by men requires the subjugation of women and the subordination of the young. Our society, still too primitively agrarian, patriarchal, and polygamous by far, turns the woman into an object of exploitation for her labor power and of consumption for her reproductive capacity.

How do women manage to live out this peculiar dual identity, which makes them, at one and the same time, the vital knot that ties together the whole family by their presence and attention, guarantees its fundamental unity, and yet also makes them marginalized and ignored? The woman leads a twofold existence indeed, the depth of her social ostracism being equaled only by her own stoic endurance. In order to be able to live in harmony with the society of man, in order to obey his command, she envelops herself in demeaning and self-effacing detachment. She sacrifices herself to this.

Woman, you are the source of life, yet an object; mother, yet domestic servant; nurturer, yet pseudowoman; you can do the bidding of both son and hearth, yet you are invisible, faceless, and voiceless. You are the pivot, the unifier, yet a being in chains, shadow of the male shadow.

The woman is the pillar of family well-being, the midwife, washerwoman, cleaner, and cook. She is errand-runner, matron, farmer, healer, gardener, grinder, saleswoman, worker. She is labor power working with obsolete tools, putting in hundreds of thousands of hours for a hopeless level of production.

Every day our sisters, fighting as they are on the four fronts of our war against disease, hunger, poverty, and degeneracy, feel the pressure of changes over which they have no control. For every single one of the 800,000 males who emigrate from Burkina, a woman takes on an additional load. The two million Burkinabè men who live outside the country thus exacerbate the sexual imbalance that puts women today at 51.7 percent of the total population, or 52.1 percent of the potentially active population.

Too overburdened to give the necessary attention to her children, too exhausted to think of herself, the woman continues to slave away—the grinding wheel, wheel of fortune, drive wheel, spare wheel, the big wheel. Broken on the wheel and bullied, women, our sisters and wives, pay for creating life, for sustaining life. Socially they are relegated to third place, after the man and the child—just like the Third World, arbitrarily held back, the better to be dominated and exploited. Subjugated, the woman goes from a protective guardian who exploits her to one who dominates her and exploits her even more....

But one single night placed women at the heart of the family’s development and at the center of national solidarity. The dawn that followed the night of August 4, 1983, brought liberty with it, calling all of us to march together side by side in equality, as a single people joined by common goals. The August revolution found the Burkinabè woman in her state of subjugation, exploited by a neocolonial society deeply imbued with the ideology of backward social forces. She owed it to herself to break with these reactionary political views on women’s emancipation, so widely praised and followed until then. She owed it to herself to draw up with utmost clarity a new, just, and revolutionary political approach to her liberation.

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May

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OFFER GOOD UNTIL MAY 31

8

The Militant May 30, 2005

Maybe a tad of speed-up?—General Motors faces a stepped-up U.S. safety investigation of its best-selling pickup trucks, which



Harry Ring

may be prone to the same tailgate failures that led to a recall of 3.66 million vehicles last year.”—News item.

He does look thinner—What

with GM’s overhead, top dog Rick Wagoner took it on the chin. His wage for last year was chopped 22 percent, to a meager \$9.96 million.

Some others also get hit—In North Carolina, it’s estimated that in recent years some 200,000 jobs have been lost. Appealing for action by state lawmakers, the Rural Economic Development Center and other groups reminded the legislature that each month thousands of people run out of jobless benefits.

He joined ownership society?—George and Laura Bush reported a 2004 taxable income

of \$673,000—the previous year they reported \$784,219.

Wait, there’s more—Unlike Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney and family reported income for 2004 was \$1.3 million, a 63 percent gain over the previous year. Part of Cheney’s income was \$194,852 in “deferred income” from the Halliburton company. He headed the notorious construction firm until his White House job. “Deferred payment,” we’re told, means Halliburton is salting away Cheney’s annual stipend. Since the Iraq war, Halliburton has gained billions in federal contracts, some of which skipped the usual contract bidding.

Highway robbery—“LONDON— Motorways and bridges across the West Country are in danger of crumbling because they were built from substandard cement falsely passed off as safe.... Structures built using the cement could develop so-called concrete cancer, which can cause them to rot and eventually become unsound.”—*The Times*, London.

Good old capitalism—Frequent news from Louisiana indicate many people there are bitterly impoverished. But not everyone. Like, the ex-chancellor at the University of New Orleans admitted he used \$50,000 in school funds to pay for his daughter’s

wedding reception. And the state legislature’s top financial adviser sought to advise why he gave himself a car allowance, a retroactive pay raise, and thousands of dollars in other compensation that auditors asserted were “improper.”

Stay firm—“U.S. Territory: Puerto Rico—Student leaders say students will return to classes at the University of Puerto Rico...after reaching an agreement with administrators to end a three-week-old strike in protest of a 33 percent tuition increase. UPR officials accepted a student proposal to postpone the increase and evaluate alternatives.”—*USA Today*.

Protests against Washington erupt in Afghanistan

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Protests erupted throughout Afghanistan in mid-May in response to reports of insulting treatment of Muslim prisoners by U.S. interrogators at the U.S. prison camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Demonstrators also opposed the continued presence of more than 18,000 U.S. troops in that country.

The protests were the most open expression of opposition to the presence of the U.S. military in the country since Washington’s 2001 assault on Afghanistan that toppled the Taliban regime. Police cracked down on the demonstrators in a number of towns. At least 15 people were killed and more than 100 injured in the first four days of street actions, according to various press accounts.

The actions were sparked by a report in the May 9 *Newsweek* that investigators probing abuses at the U.S. military prison at Guantánamo Bay “had placed Korans on toilets, and in at least one case flushed a holy book down the toilet.”

In response, more than 1,000 university and high school students marched through the eastern city of Jalalabad May 10. The demonstrators threw stones at a U.S. military convoy, the Associated Press reported, and U.S. troops in the area were blocked from entering their base by the protesters. The police attacked the demonstrators, killing four students and wounding more than 70.

“The students are calling in one voice: we don’t want American bases in Afghan-

istan,” medical student Layek Zakim told the *New York Times*. “Those Americans who come to our country and kill students should be arrested and executed.”

In Kabul, the country’s capital, about 500 students from Kabul University and Kabul Polytechnic took to the streets despite a heavy police presence. They demanded that Afghan president Hamid Karzai “prevent U.S. forces from frisking and arresting Afghans and drop plans for seeking long-term American military presence in Afghanistan,” reported the *Frontier Post*, published in Peshawar, Pakistan.

“Early in the week it was college and high school students who took to the streets chanting ‘Death to America,’ denouncing their government and demanding punishment for those they believe desecrated the Koran,” according to a Reuters dispatch from Kabul. “But they have been joined by older men, many wielding sticks and hurling stones, and some armed.”

Demonstrations rapidly spread to 10 of Afghanistan’s 34 provinces. A number took place in the northern part of the country, as well as in three Pakistani cities—Peshawar, Quetta, and Multan. Actions around this issue were also reported in Indonesia and the Gaza Strip.

Protesters also expressed their anger at



Students protest in Kabul May 12 against insults by U.S. troops of prisoners at Guantánamo.

the operations of some of the numerous “relief agencies” based in the country. In the town of Qala-I-Nau in Badghis province about 1,000 people demonstrated outside the offices of U.S.-based World Vision, and of Malteser, a German group backed by the Knights of Malta.

Seeking to quell the protests, U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice issued a statement claiming that “disrespect for the holy Koran is not now, nor has it ever been, nor will it ever be tolerated by the United States.” She said Washington would take

“appropriate action” if these allegations proved to be true.

Many of the 520 inmates being held indefinitely for the past three-and-a-half years by U.S. military authorities at Guantánamo Bay are Afghans and Pakistanis. Some of those who have been released have accused U.S. personnel of defacing Korans as part of psychological and physical abuse they were subjected to during repeated interrogations.

“They did everything to us—they tortured our bodies, they tortured our minds, they tortured our ideas and our religions,” former prisoner Mohamed Khan told the Associated Press last year, when he and two dozen other prisoners were returned to Afghanistan.

Under pressure from the Pentagon, *Newsweek* on May 15 apologized for printing the item about desecration of the Koran at the Guantánamo U.S. military prison, and said it would now retract part of the article.

Shortly after the item appeared, the Southern Command announced that Gen. Bantz Craddock had ordered an investigation into the report. *Newsweek* wrote that its source for this item was a U.S. government official who requested not to be identified.

SWP ballot drive in Boston

Continued from Page 3

in retiree health benefits, forced overtime, and a two-tier proposal that would reduce pension benefits for new hires. Two days later, the utility workers went on strike.

The Socialist Workers campaign “supports workers struggles to organize unions and strengthen those we have to fight the bosses’ offensive, like that against your union,” Trowe said. The SWP candidates offer a working-class alternative to the parties of the employing class—the Democrats and Republicans—and other capitalist parties, she added. Socialist candidates point to the need for working people to organize independently of the bosses not only on the economic front but on the political arena too, to build a labor party based on the unions that fights in the interests of workers and farmers.

Dave Sharaffa, one of the utility workers, thanked Trowe for her support and signed the petition.

“I just want to hug you guys because you support a woman’s right to choose abortion,” a young woman told Trowe, and grabbed her petition to sign.

SWP campaign supporters from the area were aided by three volunteers from out of town—one from New York and two from New Jersey, where socialists completed a ballot drive the previous weekend.

A poster of the “Earth at Night,” which appears on the back cover of the Marxist magazine *New International* no. 13, attracted a lot of attention when SWP campaigners spoke about it. The map graphically depicts the gap in economic development between the small number of imperialist nations—concentrated in North America, Europe, and Japan—and the majority of humanity living in the semicolonial world, as well as class

differentiations within each country. Most of the colonial world is in the dark at night because of lack of electrification. “We found interest when we explained that the SWP fights for exposing the drive by Washington and its allies—under the cover of ‘nuclear nonproliferation,’ including threats against Iran and north Korea—to prevent the nations oppressed by imperialism from developing nuclear power and other sources of energy they need for economic and social advances,” said Trowe.

Garza also ran into several unionists in the course of campaigning. One, a retired government worker and member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, told her, “I don’t agree with your socialist ideas, but I do agree with you on Social Security and unions.”

Garza had explained that the socialist campaign calls for no cuts in current or future Social Security benefits, Medicare programs, or workers compensation, and for extending Social Security to cover lifetime, government-guaranteed, universal health care for everyone in this country.

Another unionist who works at U.S. Airways signed Garza’s petition after she expressed solidarity with workers who were protesting pension cuts by United. “When the company hired non-union contractors to clean the planes,” he said, “I went and handed out union cards to them.”

At the Haitian parade, Trowe told marchers, “Our campaign calls for U.S. troops out of Iraq, Afghanistan, Guantánamo Bay in Cuba, and Haiti.”

“Yes, a dozen people are killed every day by the repressive government there, and the U.S. just backs them up,” a woman replied.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



May 30, 1980

Miami, May 21—About 3,600 National Guard troops and an equal number of cops have occupied this city’s Black community for four days.

Some sixteen people, almost all Black, have been killed.

About 300 have been wounded, about 1,000 have been arrested.

The news media have tried to portray the rebellion here as a racist outbreak by Blacks intent on killing whites.

But so far the only confirmed death of a white in the area of the rebellion is a cop who dropped dead of a heart attack. Six cops were reportedly wounded by gunfire, none critically.

The rebellion began Saturday after an all-white Tampa jury freed the cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie. The verdict came in at 2:36 p.m. Youth poured into the streets immediately.

At eight o’clock that night, in response to a call by the NAACP, some 7,000 people gathered at the County “Justice” Building for a protest demonstration.

The outraged crowd carried placards that declared “Justice in America is a Damn Lie” and “Where is Justice for the Black Man in America?”

NAACP leaders had not planned through the hastily called rally. There was no public address system and speakers tried to address the throng with a small bullhorn.

There were no proposals for action. From the “Justice” Building people marched to the nearby Dade County Public Safety Building. It had been Dade County cops who murdered McDuffie and many others.



May 30, 1955

A new era had begun in the South. The strike victories of 30,000 railroad and 5,000 telephone workers mark the opening of that era. Two powerful segments of Big Business, with unlimited Wall Street backing, tried to smash the rail and phone picket lines, to starve the strikers into submission. They failed completely. Their hopes of keeping the South a low-wage, open-shop province, not only for the superprofits squeezed from Southern labor, but as a weapon against Northern labor, have been frustrated. In fact their union-busting campaign evoked a Southern upsurge of labor solidarity and middle-class support for the strikers the like of which has not been witnessed in this country for over a decade.

The new contract of the 30,000 members of the AFL non-operating rail workers of the Louisville and Nashville and its five subsidiary railroads is a clear-cut victory. Indeed, the Wall Street Journal (May 23) had to head its story “L&N Settlement Is a Union Victory on Welfare Payments.”

The main issue of the strike was the corporation’s refusal, on grounds of “principle,” to grant the non-ops a health-welfare plan that all other Class I railroads had granted. This plan, whose cost was shared equally by company and workers, had been recommended by a presidential emergency board last August. L&N refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. After a 58 day strike, during which the company tried unsuccessfully to operate with scabs and armed guards, it capitulated and agreed to arbitration.

Endorse, give to Militant Fighting Fund

Endorse and contribute to the Militant Fighting Fund! Help spread support for the fight by the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party against a harassment lawsuit by the owners of the Co-Op mine in Utah and the International Association of United Workers Union (IAUWU), which workers describe as a company union.

As the *Militant* reported in the May 16 issue, attorneys Randy Dryer and Michael Petrogeorge filed on April 28 in federal court in Salt Lake City, Utah, a second memorandum on behalf of the *Militant* and SWP supporting the motion to dismiss the suit by the Utah mine bosses. Motions to dismiss and supporting briefs have also been filed by the other defendants in the case—including the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), 16 Co-Op miners, two of Utah’s main dailies, and other trade unions and individuals who have backed the Co-Op miners’ union-organizing struggle.

The presiding judge is expected to set a date for a hearing on the motions to dismiss later this summer. It is crucial now to organize a campaign across the United States and beyond to win endorsements and raise the tens of thousands of dollars needed to wage a public defense campaign and prepare for the court hearing.

Just about every dollar contributed so far to the Militant Fighting Fund—which was set up last year to help the *Militant* and SWP defend themselves in this case—has already been spent to prepare briefs for the court hearing. Between now and when the hearing takes place another \$75,000 is needed to do the work that’s required. In addition to fund-raising, endorsements are necessary to augment public support for the defense effort.

The *Militant* is targeted in the lawsuit by C.W. Mining on charges of alleged “defamation” because of its consistent and accurate reporting on the labor battle and its backing of the coal miners fighting to organize a union. The owners of C.W. Mining will try to subject the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party to intrusive discovery and investigation and drain them through litigation dragging on for years.

This case grows out of the most important labor battle in the United States today.

The owners of the Co-Op mine filed the suit last year in an attempt to shift the terrain of this battle into the courts, away from a public fight with picket lines and support actions.

Civil lawsuits of this type are not an anomaly but a tactic employers will increasingly rely on when they are challenged by effective use of union power.

The Co-Op mine owners have used every tool at their disposal to resist the workers just struggle to win UMWA representation, and for safety, dignity, and a decent livelihood. Intimidating lawsuits, arbitrary firings, legal challenges to every labor board ruling, and efforts to buy off individual miners—all of these actions are the stock-in-trade of the bosses’ anti-union efforts everywhere.

The miners have answered these attacks by sticking together, refusing to be cowed, and seeking support. They have reached out broadly to the labor movement in the West and beyond and they have received a warm response from fighting workers in every place the news of their battle has reached. They have set a powerful example of what it means to use union power and mobilize solidarity—all for one and one for all—which is attractive to the thousands of miners in the West who are largely unorganized and to many other working people.

These coal miners have also refused to be intimidated by the harassment lawsuit. Their recent picket lines near a depot owned by C.W. Mining—where haulers drop off coal for shipment by rail—have been a pole of attraction for working people in the area.

The determined efforts by the miners are bearing fruit.

There is evidence that C.W. Mining is having trouble in filling orders—as the company’s cancellation of its contract for supplying coal to a Missouri-based energy distributor, reported in last week’s issue, showed.

Whether the Co-Op mine will become union and the importance of extending the unionization effort to other coal mines, coal haulers, and coal construction workers in the region are questions at the center of the class struggle in the United States today.

Because of the *Militant*’s record in this case, 24 pages of the 70-page complaint by the Co-Op mine owners allege defamations by the *Militant* against C.W. Mining and the IAUWU. The suit names the SWP as a defendant on the basis of the false claim that the party “owns and controls” the socialist newsweekly.

The so-called defamations are largely based on reporting accurately what workers engaged in this battle have said and done. This follows a proud tradition. Since its inception in 1928, the *Militant*’s worker correspondents have written from the front lines of the battles by workers and farmers in the United States and other countries. This record, along with the *Militant*’s unique coverage of major questions in world politics—from the lessons of the causes and outcome of World War II to the defeat of U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese people 30 years ago—can be used to gain support in the defense effort. Public meetings such as those reported on page 7 can be organized over the summer.

The campaign to defend the *Militant* and SWP against this harassment lawsuit builds on the tradition of other defense efforts in the workers movement over decades. These cases include:

- The frame-up trials in Sioux City, Iowa, of leaders of the Teamsters union fighting to organize truck drivers across 11 states in the Midwest on the eve of World War II;
- The Smith Act trials and convictions of 18 SWP and Teamster leaders in the early 1940s for leading opposition to Washington’s preparations to drag workers and farmers into the second worldwide imperialist slaughter;
- The James Katcher defense effort from the late 1940s through the mid-1950s after this worker who had lost both legs in World War II was fired from his job in the Veterans Administration because of his “membership in the Socialist Workers Party”;
- The defense of members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in Bloomington, Indiana, in the early 1960s who were charged with advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government and the State of Indiana, after protesting Washington’s naval blockade and invasion threats against Cuba around the October 1962 “missile” crisis;
- The case of the Fort Jackson 8 and other GIs who came under attack by the U.S. military for exercising their rights as citizen soldiers during the Vietnam War;
- The more than decade-long fight to win support for the suit brought by the SWP and YSA in 1973 against the FBI and other government agencies for spying, harassment, and disruption;
- The Mark Curtis defense campaign in the late 1980s and early 1990s that arose out of battles by meatpacking workers in the Midwest and defense of the rights of immigrant workers in that industry;
- The fight two years ago to secure the right of *Militant* reporter Róger Calero to live and work in the United States after the U.S. government tried to deport him.

Lessons from these fights will serve well in the current defense campaign.

You can do something to weigh in on the scales of this battle. Endorse the Militant Fighting Fund. Send a contribution now! (Write your check or money order to the Militant Fighting Fund and send it to P.O. Box 520994, Salt Lake City, UT 84152-0994.)

Bombings in Iraq

Continued from front page

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the Jordanian who leads al-Qaeda in Iraq.

At least 489 people, most of them civilians, have been killed in bombings and executed after being kidnapped since the official commencement of the new government on April 28, according to the Associated Press. Wealthy Sunnis have been the main financiers and organizers of groups like al-Qaeda in Iraq, which has taken responsibility for numerous bombing attacks on U.S. and Iraqi troops, as well as kidnappings and beheadings of hostages. The Hussein regime had its largest base of support among such layers of Sunnis.

The bodies of 30 men, including 10 Iraqi soldiers, were found shot execution-style in three separate areas in Iraq May 15. Nearly half the bodies were discovered in Sadr City. Last year militia loyal to Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr fought fierce battles against U.S. troops in this largely Shiite working-class section of Baghdad.

At least 72 Iraqis were killed in car bombings in northern and central portions of Iraqi on May 11 alone.

In the largely Sunni city of Tikrit 32 Iraqis were killed and 90 injured in a car bomb attack. Many of those killed were construction workers who believed the driver of the vehicle had slowed down to offer them work. Ansar al-Sunna, a group reportedly allied with al-Zarqawi, released a statement on a web site asserting that it launched the attack to target “infidel workers” at a U.S. military base.

In January, the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), an electoral bloc supported by Iraq’s leading Shiite cleric Ali al-Sistani, won a slight majority in elections for the National Assembly. The UIA formed a coalition government with the main Kurdish parties, which won the second largest bloc of seats. UIA leader Ibrahim al-Jaafari, who was selected prime minister, appointed several Sunni politicians to key positions in his cabinet in an effort to draw Sunnis into the government and weaken support for Baathist-led armed groups.

In interviews during her visit to Iraq Rice stressed that while Sunnis largely boycotted the January elections they must be included in the new government and in writing the constitution. Two Sunnis are currently included in the 55-member committee to draft the constitution.

Rice also told Al Arabiya News that Washington has “very grave concern that Syria is a place in which terrorists are gathering and transiting into Iraq.”

The day before Rice arrived in Baghdad, the U.S. military announced the wrap-up of a weeklong offensive against supporters of al-Zarqawi in western Iraq, just two miles from the Syrian border. U.S. Marine officials told the *American Forces Information Service*, a Pentagon publication, that al-Qaeda in Iraq uses the area as a staging ground for attacks against U.S. and Iraqi troops in Ramadi, Fallujah, Baghdad, and Mosul.

With a battle group of 1,000 Marines, it was the largest U.S. military operation since the assault on Baathist strongholds in Fallujah last November. The Marines were backed up by helicopter gunships and fighter jets, according to AP. The U.S. military said it killed 125 of al-Zarqawi’s supporters but many others escaped.

Corrections

The article “How CP USA backed Smith Act convictions of SWP, Teamster leaders” in the May 23 issue said that “Philip J. Jaffe... describes in detail the documents the Communist Party turned over to the cops in 1941 to aid the prosecution of the union and SWP leaders.” The documents could not have been turned over in 1941, however, since they contained materials published in 1942, as the article later points out. The relevant source cited in the article indicates that the CP leadership turned over these materials to the Department of Justice sometime before the 1943 Supreme Court review of the 1941 convictions of Socialist Workers Party and Teamster leaders. In his book, *The Rise and Fall of American Communism*, Jaffe says: “The 1941 conviction of the Trotskyites in a lower court finally ended in an appeal before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1943. In November of that year, the conviction was upheld and 18 of 23 defendants went to jail in Sandstone Prison. But the final conviction of the Trotskyites was achieved not without the help of the Communist Party. Not only was there a continuous barrage in the Communist press against the victims, but the Party prepared for the Department of Justice an important collection of documents to help prove the guilt of the Socialist Workers Party.”

The article “Imperialist powers warm up to new regime in Ecuador; Gutiérrez was ousted by layers of bourgeoisie backed by middle-class protests” in the May 16 issue quoted Ecuador’s former president inaccurately. The relevant paragraph said, “Gutiérrez insisted as he fled the country that ‘in Quito and Guayaquil you can hear voices calling for my return, in the Amazon, along the Pacific Coast, and in the poor neighborhoods there are millions of people who support me.’” It should have read instead: “Gutiérrez said hours before being overthrown that ‘while in Quito and Guayaquil you hear voices calling for my resignation, in the Amazon, along the Pacific Coast, and in the poor neighborhoods there are millions of people who support me.’”

Washington, Tokyo threaten north Korea

Continued from front page

and place the maximum pressure on the DPRK to give up its nuclear program.

In face of this hostile campaign, the DPRK withdrew from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 2003. Faced with a country divided with a wall built decades earlier with U.S. government support and tens of thousands of U.S. troops in the south, the north Korean government has defended its right, and proclaimed its intention, to continue developing nuclear weapons for the DPRK’s defense.

At the same time, Washington has worked with the south Korean regime to sweep under the rug the fact that as recently as 2000 it produced weapons’ grade plutonium and uranium in secret experiments.

While Beijing, Seoul, and Moscow have joined the calls on the DPRK to abandon its nuclear arms program, they have expressed disagreement with the imperialist governments in Washington and Tokyo on how far and fast to go in pressuring the DPRK to achieve that goal.

While stating that it opposes a “nuclearized Korean Peninsula,” China’s foreign ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao said May 10 that Beijing opposes putting pressure on Pyongyang through the UN Security Council or through economic sanctions.

“The normal trade flow should not be linked up with the nuclear issue. We oppose trying to address the problem

through strong-arm tactics,” Jianchao said. “We think the six-party talks, and not the United Nations Security Council, are the right channel for addressing the issue.”

The government of south Korea has also distanced itself from Washington and Tokyo’s threats, denying there was evidence that Pyongyang would test a nuclear weapon. Seoul participated in bilateral talks with the DPRK government May 16, and, in recent speeches, south Korean president Roh Moo Hyun has stressed that his government wishes to play a “balancing role” between its U.S. and Japanese allies and Pyongyang.

The Korean peninsula has remained divided since it was carved up in the deals between Moscow, London, and Washington at the close of the second world war. The Korean War, which started five years after the end of World War II, ended in a stalemate in 1953. While capitalist social relations were overturned in the DPRK, capitalist regimes allied with Washington have ruled south Korea ever since. No formal peace was ever signed at the end of the conflict. The U.S. government still maintains over 40,000 U.S. troops in the south and continues to outfit the regime there with the latest military hardware.

There is deep popular support on both sides of the dividing line for reunification of the country and an end to the presence of U.S. troops there. Seoul has to balance its close relationship with Washington against that popular sentiment.

Houston janitors fight to organize union

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

HOUSTON—More than 1,000 cleaners and their supporters rallied here April 30 to launch a union-organizing drive targeting 8,000 office cleaners in this city. The workers earn an average of \$5.30 an hour, many of them work only part-time, and receive no health insurance.

The rally was organized by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and was part of a “Justice for Janitors” conference organized by the union, which represents about 200,000 janitors across the country.

The Building Owners and Managers Association of Houston (BOMA) has accused the SEIU of disseminating false information and creating false hopes among the workers about what winning a union would mean.

Janitors fighting to organize, however, see it differently. “In the 26 years I have worked as a janitor in Houston, I have never received a raise,” Berta Rodríguez told the

rally. “I can’t afford to live on that wage. If I have to visit a doctor because of my blood pressure, I have to pay for it out of my own pocket.”

The comments of Rodríguez and those of other speakers supporting the organizing drive received loud applause from the audience, which included hundreds of local janitors as well as supporters from a variety of organizations.

Brian Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, joined the rally in solidarity with the janitors and spoke with several of the workers there. “Your efforts to organize the thousands of workers who clean buildings in Houston are important for all working people,” Williams said. “We need to organize and strengthen unions.” He told the janitors that some of his co-workers in the garment shop where he works also hold second jobs as janitors. “I support your organizing drive. This is why I am running for mayor along with Anthony Dutrow for city control-



Janitors march April 30 in Houston to back effort launched by Service Employees International Union to organize the city’s 8,000 office cleaners.

ler. We side with the workers organizing against the Building Owners and Managers Association and their city and state governments.”

The rally, which took place at Houston’s George R. Brown convention center, ended with a short demonstration that marched through the streets of downtown.

N.Y. farm workers demand to be covered by labor law

BY DAN FEIN

ALBANY, New York—Some 50 farm workers and their supporters rallied outside the state capitol here May 3 to demand passage of the Farmworker Fair Labor Practices Act, a law that would extend labor laws applicable to workers in most other industries to farm workers.

The rally was the culmination of a four-day march that began April 30 at the office of the Independent Farm Worker’s Center (CITA) in Albion, New York. CITA sponsored the march and rally.

The Fair Labor Practices Act would include farm workers in labor legislation that provides for the right to a day of rest each week, overtime pay, disability insurance, collective bargaining protections, and unemployment insurance.

“I need to have a day per week for rest,” Fernández Santiago, a farm worker from Mexico, told the *Militant*. Santiago has worked five years in the United States picking apples, peaches, and other crops.

“I am here to support farm workers and protest the exclusion of our rights,” said Librada Paz, a farm worker for 15 years who now lives in Brockport, New York. “I

know how hot it gets in the summer. It’s hard work and you need good physical hand skills to make a living wage.” Laws requiring drinking water and toilets in the fields have been passed by the New York State Legislature in recent years, although there must be a least 11 workers at a work-site for the water requirement and five for the toilets. The New York state minimum wage of \$6 per hour now applies to farm workers.

The first day of the march, workers walked from Albion to Brockport; the second day from Brockport to Rochester; and the third day from Rochester to Sodus, Newark, and Geneva. All these cities are in western New York. At the end of the brief rally, Rosa Rivera, director of CITA, led a small delegation to meet with State Senator John Flanagan to thank him for introducing the bill. After they returned, all the demonstrators went into the legislative building to the office of Senate majority Leader Joseph Bruno to demand he release the bill to the floor of the Senate for a vote.

It is estimated that there are more than 3 million migrant and seasonal farm workers in the United States.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Defend Free Speech and Freedom of the Press! Defend Workers Rights! A presentation and discussion on: The effort to defend the *Militant* newspaper and the Socialist Workers Party against a lawsuit by Utah coal mine bosses; the current stage in the Co-Op miners’ fight for a union in Huntington, Utah; the road to strengthening the unions today. Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP National Committee. Sun., May 22. Reception 2:00 p.m., program 3:00 p.m. 3029-A Bessemer Rd. Tel: (205) 780-0021.

FLORIDA

Miami

From the U.S. Civil War to WW II to Iraq: War Profiteering Puts Soldiers’ Lives at Risk! Workers in Uniform and Workers at Home Both Confront Bosses’ Greed. Fri. May 27, 7:30 p.m. 8365 N.E. 2nd Ave., #206. Tel: (305) 756-4436.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

U.S. Base Closings and the Transforma-

tion of the U.S. Military. Speaker: Willie Cotton, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 20. Dinner 7:00 p.m., program 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program.

Struggles to Organize Unions and Mobilize Union Power to Resist Bosses’ Assaults. A panel of speakers. Fri., May 27. Dinner at 7:00 p.m., program at 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. Both events at 307 W. 36th St., 10th floor (north elevators). Tel: (212) 629-6649.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

The ‘Special Period’ is Behind Us: the Cuban Revolution Today Fri., May 27. 7:00 p.m., Bjulevagen 33, 12122 44 ENSKEDE. Tel: 46 8 31 69 33.

UNITED KINGDOM

London

Video Showing of ‘Rosie the Riveter.’ Fri., May 27. Speaker: introduction by Antonis Partasis. Dinner 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. Donation: Dinner £3, program £3. 120 Bethnal Green Rd., E2 6DG, (first floor, entrance on Brick Lane). Tel: 020 7613-2466

LETTERS

Readings on World War II

While reading the article in the May 2 *Militant* titled “Bolshevism versus class collaboration: a reply to Young Communist League’s defense of Stalinist Popular Frontism,” I found your reference to the “Theses on Tactics” something I would like to read. Please advise as to where I may find it. I would imagine there are many others who would be interested in doing the same. Perhaps the *Militant* could consider running an ad or including a reference to the Theses in the subsequent articles. The article did suggest excellent additional reading materials on fascism, as well as including an ad on page 6.

The *Militant* articles on World War II are invaluable and can always be used when discussing the history and patterns of imperialism and capitalist wars. A book or pamphlet with these articles would be helpful in explaining the truth about World Wars I and II to workers, as these wars are always coming up in numerous types of discussions.

Your explanation of the Communist Parties’ policies regarding election campaigns and of Stalinism during World War II was timely and helpful in discussions with co-workers. These articles have been very remindful of the necessity to constantly go back and study history to understand

current politics and the continuity of the Socialist Workers Party’s current analysis.

Thank you for the inspiration, the excitement, and the stimulation for study and support to the *Militant*, Pathfinder, and most especially, the Socialist Workers Party and its history.

Wendy Banen
New York, New York

The “Theses on Tactics” adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International can be found in The Communist International 1919–1943: Documents, Vol. I 1919-1922, edited by Jane Degras (Frank Cass & Company 1971).

It is also taken up in New International no. 3, in the article by Mary-Alice Waters, “Communism and the Fight for a Popular Revolutionary Government: 1848 to Today.”

Related materials from the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern can be found in The First Five Years of the Communist International by Leon Trotsky, published by Pathfinder Press.

—Editor

South Africa

The *Militant’s* call for a five-month period to study and distribute *New International* nos. 12 and 13 is on the money. I found these

to be the most valuable books I’ve read for understanding the 21st century. (I haven’t had time to read no. 12 yet.) Let me share a question with you and your readers. In *NI* no. 5, South Africa under apartheid was described as an imperialist nation. In *NI* no. 13, South Africa is described as an oppressed nation, part of the semicolonial world exploited by imperialism (p. 31 of first printing).

I doubt that the change is based on the feeling on the part of the authors that they were wrong in *NI* no. 5 and needed to revise their position. After all, a revolution occurred in that country.

I can see how this revolution would change the status of South Africa in this regard but would like to have the picture filled out. Wouldn’t this be a good topic for a *Militant* article or column that would review the tasks of the South African revolution against apartheid and take up the current situation?

David Salner
Frederick, Maryland

Trade union mergers

In the context of the ongoing assault on our living standard by the employers, the top echelons of the labor officialdom in the United States continue to try to consolidate their dues base by mergers. Recently, PACE and the

USWA officials voted to carry out a merger. PACE, which represents paper, oil, atomic, and chemical workers, organizes industries that are by in large totally different than the USWA (which predominately represents workers in the steel industry, machine shops, etc.). This merger was opposed by a number of PACE locals. It signals an increasing dilution of the strength of the union members in a given industry. One of the candidates for president of the AFL-CIO has proposed that all the separate unions be reduced to three large unions. Clearly, we need to chart a course that advances our struggle.

Robert Roberston
Bloomfield, New Jersey

Send me the ‘Militant’

Please send me an introductory subscription to the *Militant*. I am disabled and very low income. I would like to see something that old and disabled people can do for the revolution! I am so unhappy just surviving. I have very little strength and energy. But I want to help—as I have done before many years ago.

Arlene Benson
Santa Monica, California

Student sit-in

In mid-April, students at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, staged a sit-in

and hunger strike in order to get the university’s attention about contracting out to companies that pay workers a below average wage to clean.

This came to the students’ attention when an employee was fired for stealing and a Bosnian woman wrote to the school newspaper explaining to the students that the majority of the cleaners do not steal but they are not paid very well and the reason they are doing these jobs in the first place may be due to war circumstances where they could not stay in their country.

The students went on strike and now they have the support of the community. So finally Washington University is going to sit down and talk with the students. I am giving you this news for the reason that these small sit-ins do not get the attention of major news stories and sometimes they can be the beginning of something bigger than you or I.

Julie Hovland
St. Louis, Missouri

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

New Zealand bus drivers strike over wages

Workers in other industries walk out, demanding 5% increase in pay

BY FELICITY COGGAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—"We call them 'Scroogecoach' or 'Slavecoach,'" said assistant Tramways Union delegate Graham Jackson, referring to his employers, the Stagecoach bus company. Jackson was one of about 80 bus drivers on a picket line at the Roskill bus depot here May 5, the first day of a six-day strike.

The 1,000 drivers in the walkout, most of whom are members of the Tramways Union, normally carry about 30,000 passengers per day. Buses are the main form of public transport here.

The drivers are demanding an immediate wage increase to \$16 (US\$11.35) per hour from their current top rate of \$13.94, back pay from last November when their contract expired, improved rest breaks, and shorter runs. The company has offered \$15.33 next year, raising to \$16 by 2007, effectively a three-and-a-half year contract, and \$600 in lieu of back pay. Drivers especially object to the split shifts many are forced to work—which can mean a 12- to 14-hour day for eight hours' pay, with a several-hour unpaid break in the middle. For this break they get a daily allowance of only \$3.63.

The drivers struck for one day on April 4. With no movement on the part of the company, the union then announced that drivers would take 10-minute breaks at the end of each trip and not drive the last trip of the day if previous runs had pushed them into overtime. John Irving, a driver at the Roskill picket, noted the support he had received from his regular passengers for the action the drivers were taking. "Some drivers had been placing leaflets on the seats of their buses to explain the issues involved," he said.

Leading up to the latest strike, Stagecoach had hoped for a split in the ranks of the four unions that organize the drivers. This is the first time they have combined in a dispute. The bosses were disappointed when an 11th-hour meeting of the 100 or so drivers belonging to the Akarana Drivers Association voted to press ahead with the strike.

"They were trying to divide the union," said one of these drivers, who asked that his name not be used. "The company proposal had already been rejected four times by the combined unions. Once we've begun as the combined unions, we should not be doing things as individuals."

Picket lines went up at all eight of the city's depots, some staffed round the clock. At Roskill depot, workers waved signs in English, Samoan, and Chinese to the passing traffic. Twenty drivers from the Wiri depot traveled south to visit the Papakura Cityline depot, where the drivers are employed by Stagecoach but are not part of the current negotiations. After the drivers from Wiri set up a picket line, the Papakura drivers decided not to take their buses out. The Wiri drivers told the *Militant* they had received a message of support from drivers employed by Stagecoach in the United Kingdom, where the company is based.

Solomon Auvaa, picketing the Wiri depot, listed what workers have lost in the 17 years since he started work: allowances for shift work, long service, and meals; payment for travel time; transport to and from work; premium pay for weekends; one week of annual holiday; and five of their 10 annual days of sick leave. He estimated this amounted to a loss of about \$180 per week. Graham Jackson, who has been a bus driver for 31 years, estimated that cuts in 1992, mainly in overtime and weekend rates, cost him a 40 percent reduction in wages.

As press reports over the first two days of the strike showed, most commuters were siding with the striking drivers, and directing their complaints at the company over the dispute, Stagecoach went on the offensive. It took out first a half-page then a full-page advertisement in Auckland's daily paper, the *New Zealand Herald*, to try to shift the blame



Militant/Janet Roth

Workers picket Sleepyhead bed factory in Otahuhu, Auckland, New Zealand, May 6, after walking off the job to demand 5 percent wage increase.

onto the union. On the second day of the strike, the company announced it would seek a binding ruling from the government Employment Relations Authority on the drivers'

pay rates, arguing the unions have breached "good faith" in the dispute. This would be the first time such an application has been made under a new employment law passed

last year. On May 11, Stagecoach upped its offer to \$1,200 in lieu of back pay, \$15 per hour immediately, \$15.40 the next year, and \$16 in 2007. This was roundly rejected by an angry meeting of drivers by a 12-to-1 margin. Further talks are now underway, with the prospect of further strike action in early June, if drivers' demands are not met.

Meanwhile, a number of metalworkers who have taken part in the "Fair Share—Five in '05" campaign, launched by the Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union (EPMU) for a 5 percent pay increase, have settled their agreement. Under the Metals and Manufacturing Industries Collective Agreement, workers employed by 73 companies will get the 5 percent raise over a 15-month contract. Workers at 23 other companies have also gained the 5 percent raise, while a number of others are still taking action.

EPMU workers at Bridgestone Tyres in Christchurch are into their fourth week of a strike. On May 6, workers at the Sleepyhead bed factory in Auckland walked out for two days. Three days later, workers at 11 branches of the ANZ and National banks took strike action. They are demanding pay parity with employees of these banks in Australia, who receive extra pay for evening and weekend work.

Iceland gov't arrests immigrants over work permits; Union tops wage chauvinist campaign over jobs

BY ÖGMUNDUR JÓNSSON

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland—On May 13, the Eastern District Court acquitted two workers from Latvia of charges of working here without work permits. The company they were working for, GT Contracting, was also prosecuted for illegally employing the two Latvians, and two other workers from Lithuania. The four were driving buses at the Kárahnjúkar dam construction project.

This case follows other arrests of construction workers from Poland, Latvia, or Lithuania in the Reykjavík area and in the western and southern regions of the country. In at least two cases in the south, one involving three Lithuanians in Stokkseyri and another involving three Poles in Rangáring Eystra, the workers were given suspended prison sentences and deported.

These cases come in response to a campaign by officials of several unions that organize construction workers and the Icelandic Confederation of Labor (ASI) to pressure government institutions to crack down on "social underbidding." The term refers to the growing practice by contractors of bringing in immigrant labor, from countries in Eastern Europe or Asia in most cases, to work for several months for lower wages than union contracts allow in Iceland.

Contractors employ the practice so they can make the lowest bid on certain jobs and edge out competitors. This is done either "black," that is, underground, or, as in the case of GT Contracting, under the cover of a "service contract," where the hiring goes through a middleman in the workers' country of origin, bypassing labor agreements in Iceland and local tax legislation. The latest court ruling upheld the use of service contracts of up to three months within the European Economic Area (EEA), an agreement between the EU and Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein.

The case in Stokkseyri also involved a service contract, although in that case the workers were found guilty and deported. Those workers were to receive a total of 90,000 kronur (\$1,350) for working 11 hours a day, six days a week for three months. There are contradictory claims in the news: some report this was their monthly wage, while others said it would cover the whole three months. Even in the

"best" scenario the pay is way below the minimum guaranteed by union contracts, which is around 100,000 kronur a month for a 40-hour week. According to ASI, hundreds of workers are undocumented, mostly in construction and tourism.

The nationalist character of the campaign by the union officialdom was highlighted at a conference on April 15 on "black business and illegal labor power," called by Starfsgreinasambandid (SGS), the federation of unskilled workers' unions. "The parties in the labor market have no police powers, those reside elsewhere," said Kristján Gunnarsson, chairman of SGS, in his opening remarks. "We want the authorities to accept their responsibility and define their role, including where and how they can do their part to establish a legal and moral labor market in this country in the changed environment of EEA rules and growing globalization."

Workers from EEA countries are exempt from having to obtain work permits for jobs in Iceland. According to a temporary clause in Icelandic law, however, this doesn't apply to workers from states that recently joined the European Union (EU), mostly from Eastern Europe, until May 1, 2006. Even then, the period of "adaptation" can be extended by five more years.

At the SGS meeting, Unnur Sverrisdóttir, an official at the government's Directorate of Labor, played on workers' worries over the employers' offensive on wages to advocate tougher immigration rules. "We must realize that if the period of integration isn't extended, then people from the new [EU member] states will get unlimited access to the labor market here, and these are the people who have signed contracts of 90,000 kronur for a six-day workweek and 11-hour days."

A few days later, Gissur Pétursson, head of the Directorate of Labor, suggested a new category of temporary and unrenovable work permits, supposedly restricted to "big projects or high demand in certain sectors."

Campaign against 'social underbidding'

ASI formally launched a campaign on May Day under the slogan "One Right, No Cheating." A full-page ad in both major dailies announcing the campaign stated, "Everyone loses on social underbidding." It painted a false picture of all social classes

losing out from these practices.

"Foreigners lose, because they are shortchanged on wages, benefits, and conditions," the ad said. "Icelanders lose, because social underbidding undermines the gains that have been made on the labor market.... The companies lose, because social underbidding undermines the competitive position of those who play by the rules.... Society loses, because social underbidding undercuts the welfare system—the society we have built together."

In practice, this perspective of class collaboration—which stems from the false notion that workers and bosses have common interests—has meant calling on the capitalist state for protection, instead of organizing native-born and immigrant workers, whether "legal" or "illegal," to defend their living and working conditions.

The Kárahnjúkar dam construction project, employing around 1,300 workers, remains at the center of the employers' antilabor offensive, as it has since the work started two years ago. From the outset, the main contractor, Italian-based Impregilo, used hiring agencies in Portugal and elsewhere to bypass labor contracts in Iceland.

In the fall of 2003, workers at the dam project, both native- and foreign-born, fought for everyone to be represented by unions and to be paid according to union contracts. An agreement was subsequently reached to uphold these contracts. Workers there report, however, that bosses often don't pay wages in full, they "forget" hours from their wage-slips, and refuse to pay overtime for Saturday work. According to a survey by ASI, workers are paid up to 50,000 kronur below the labor agreement.

Disputes also continue over conditions in the highland camp. In addition to lower wages, these workers have been laboring under unsafe conditions, which are resulting in accidents on the job, sometimes fatal. On May 9, two workers at the dam were flown to a hospital in Reykjavík after falling around 10 meters (33 feet). They were working on the dam wall, with two others, when the platform they were standing on collapsed. One of them turned out to have a broken heel. On May 14, another worker was flown to Akureyri with an injured hip from a rock fall. One worker has been killed in a rock fall since the project started.